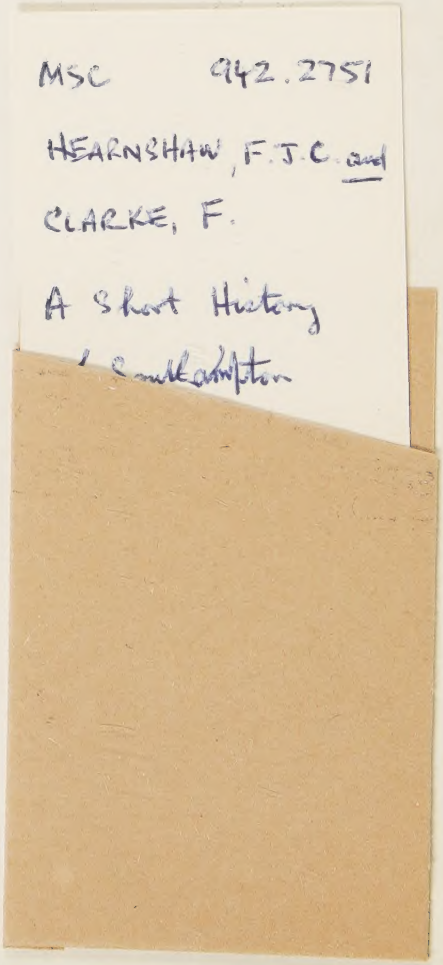
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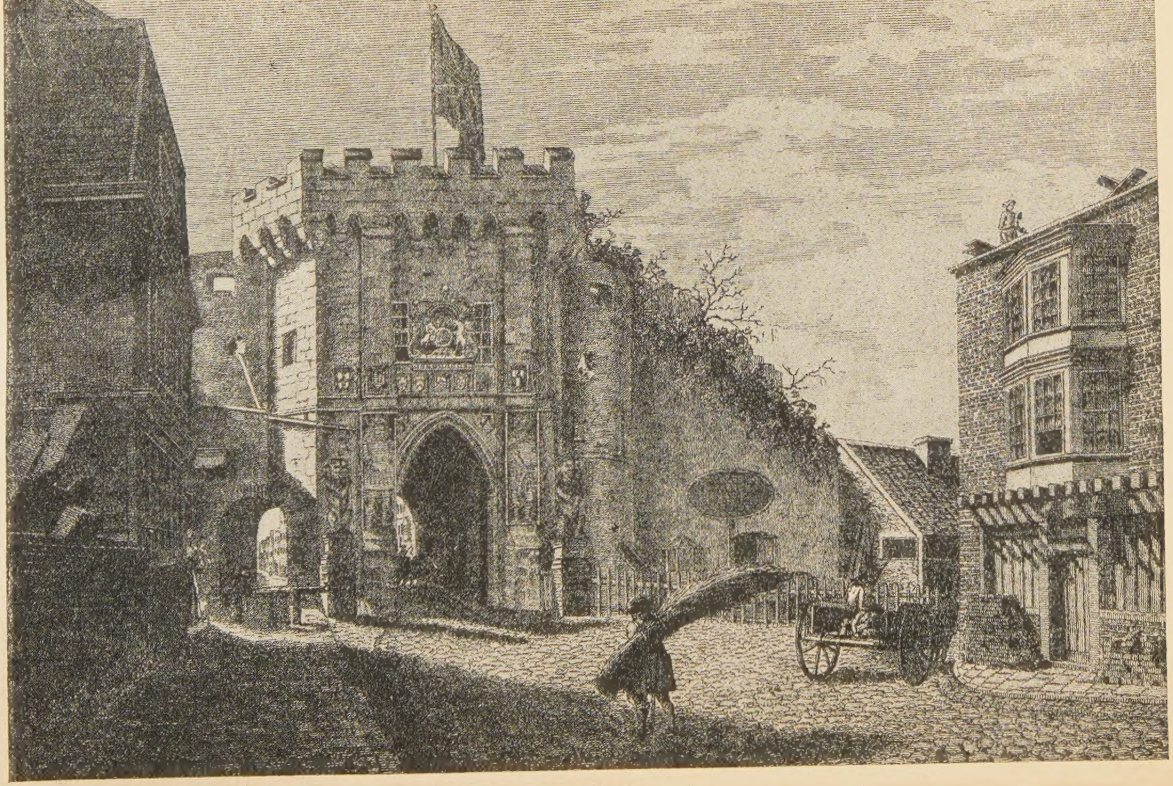

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A SHORT HISTORY OF SOUTHAMPTON

IN TWO PARTS

PART I

THE STORY OF SOUTHAMPTON

IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

F. J. C. HEARNSHAW, M.A., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE HARTLEY UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

PART II

SOME ASPECTS OF TOWN-LIFE

BY MEMBERS OF THE
SOUTHAMPTON HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND OTHERS

EDITED BY

F. CLARKE, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN THE HARTLEY UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

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PREFACE

Some three years ago the Southampton Branch of the Historical Association was formed for the purpose of bringing together those who were interested in the study and teaching of history. From the time of its formation the members have felt that the association could best justify its existence by directing its attention to the great wealth of historical material which the records and antiquities of the town itself had to offer. Accordingly, a proposal was adopted for the production of a short 'History', which, while supplying a need strongly felt by the teachers in the schools, would, at the same time, appeal to that growing class of Southampton citizens to whom the past record of

'Hampton, the pride of all the southern shore'

has a real and lively interest.

Difficulties and hindrances having at length been overcome, the proposal has borne fruit in the shape of this present volume.

The plan of the book represents an attempt to combine with the advantages of continuity in narrative, the advantages of specialized treatment of the more important topics. The writer of Part I has made it his aim to find what might be termed the highest common factor of the history of Southampton and the history of England. He has tried to avoid, on the one hand, writing a sketch of municipal history which should have merely local signification; on the other hand, he has endeavoured to escape the temptation of producing an outline of the history of England with

mere local illustrations. He has tried to keep the two elements—the local and the general—in full co-ordination, and yet in vital and equal union.

The topics dealt with in Part II (by various writers, most of whom are, or have been, members of the association) cover all the more salient features of town life. Brief and sketchy as these chapters must necessarily be, it is hoped that they may, nevertheless, prove useful, if only as outlines to be filled in by individual readers, each according to his own taste.

It should, perhaps, be added, that all who have had a part in the writing of the book have given their services freely and willingly.

The task of obtaining suitable illustrations has been much lightened for us by the ready courtesy with which owners of blocks, prints, and photographs have acceded to our requests for assistance. To all who have thus helped us we tender our most cordial thanks. In particular, we feel that special thanks are due to the Council of the Hartley University College, for allowing us to draw on the Cope Collection of prints ; to Messrs. Cox & Sharland, and the owners of the blocks prepared for the illustration of the souvenir booklet which was presented to the American teachers who visited Southampton last year ; and to Mr. R. M. Lucas, F.R.I.B.A., for the use of several of his drawings.

F. J. C. HEARNSHAW.
F. CLARKE.

SOUTHAMPTON,
April, 1910.

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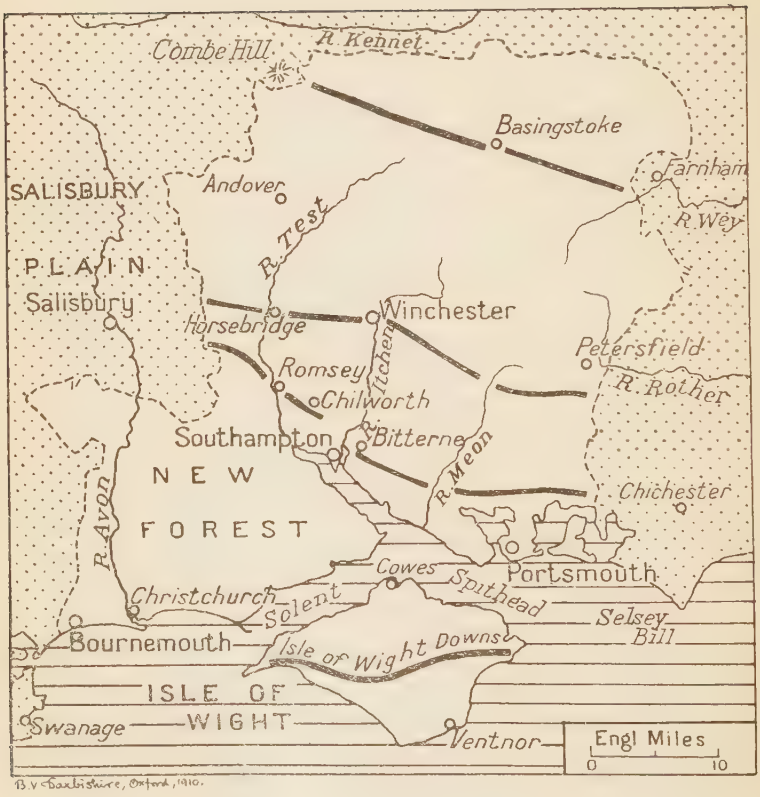

Fig. 1. Map of Hampshire

PART I

THE STORY OF SOUTHAMPTON

IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE SITE OF SOUTHAMPTON

1. A Journey from London to Southampton

I suppose that there are few among those who read

ERRATA

Page 93, l. 5, *for* Surrey *read* Sussex.

Page 157, underline of illustration, *for* Henry VII *read* Queen Elizabeth.

vated fields, and far-extending woods; but that almost as soon as the Hampshire border is reached, the landscape changes, and the scene opens out into wide expanses of undulating down, dotted but sparsely with clumps of trees and human habitations, and pierced now and again by railway or roadway cuttings, which reveal deep banks of white-gleaming chalk. This chalky down-land stretches along the line of rail from Basingstoke in the north to beyond Winchester in the south; and then, as Eastleigh is approached, another transformation is evident; the chalk is seen no more, and the verdant fertility of the Thames valley seems to have its fellow in the luxuriance of the vale of the Itchen, and the forest splendours of Chilworth and Bassett.

2. The Making of Hampshire

The floor of Hampshire is the chalk ; but it is a tilted and uneven floor. In the north-west corner of the county it is raised very high—at Combe Hill nearly 1,000 feet above the level of the sea. At Southampton it is very low, being indeed some 400 feet *below* the sea-level, and being covered up by a thick coating, or series of coatings, of sand, and clay, and peat, and gravel. Its general slope is from north-west down towards south-east.

Now, when this floor was laid down, untold ages ago, it was flat, and it was laid down at the bottom of a deep warm sea, which covered almost the whole of the land which is now called Britain, as well as much of the continent. It consists of the remains of countless myriads of living creatures which once inhabited those old waters. But when it had been laid down during the course of many thousands of years to a thickness of some hundreds of feet a great (though probably very gradual) upheaval of the earth brought it to the surface. When, however, it came to the surface it was no longer flat or even. It was crumpled into folds. One great fold or ridge extended (to use the modern names) from Combe Hill in the west, past Basingstoke and Odiham, towards Farnham in the east. This is by far the most important of all ; it is one of the chief watersheds of England ; it is continued in the North Downs of Surrey and Kent ; it is closely connected with the great continental water-divide which separates the rivers of the Rhine system from those of the Seine system, and which, therefore, separates the Teuton from the Gaul. A second, but much lower, ridge runs, parallel to the first, from Horsebridge to Winchester, and on to Petersfield. A third, with many breaks, connects Dean Hill on the Wiltshire border with Portsdown at the back of Portsmouth Harbour, by way of Romsey, Chilworth, and Bittern. A fourth ridge crops up in the downs of the Isle of Wight, a fragment of a much longer and loftier range, which at one time joined the Needles to Foreland Pinnacles of Dorset on the west, and on the east stretched

out from Culver Cliff far into unknown regions, long since re-engulfed by the sea.

The general south-eastward slope of the Hampshire floor causes the bulk of the surplus rainfall of the county to drain off towards the English Channel. How great the Hampshire rainfall is we do not always realize; but it has been estimated that, on an average, sufficient water descends upon the surface of the county every year to make a stream 27½ feet deep, a quarter of a mile wide, and 640 miles long. A large proportion of this, of course, sinks into the ground, but there is a large surplus left to be carried away by the rivers of the shire. Now the two most considerable of these are the Test and the Itchen. The Test has a course of about 30 miles: it rises at Polhampton, on the slopes of the great northern ridge of the county, and flows first in a south-westerly direction past Whitchurch, then due south through a gap in the second ridge of the county at Stockbridge, finally south-east, through a dip in the third ridge below Romsey. On its course it is joined by several tributaries, of which the Bourne from Combe Hill, the Anton from Andover, the Mitcheldever stream from Mitcheldever, and the Wallop stream from the Wallops, are the most important. It enters Southampton Water on the west of the town of Southampton. The Itchen has a somewhat shorter and less winding course. It is only about 25 miles long. Originally it had its rise on the main watershed near Basingstoke, but owing to causes familiar to geologists, the old main channel from the Basingstoke ridge to King's Worthy has been left dry, and the river, as we know it, is formed by an old tributary stream, which now rises in a little pool at Kilmeston, near New Alresford. This stream flows westward until it reaches the old main channel at King's Worthy, then it follows that old channel southward through a hollow in the second ridge of the county at Winchester, and through a wide gap in the third ridge between Bittern and Chilworth, until it reaches Southampton Water, on the east side of the town of Southampton. Thus the two chief watercourses of the shire meet at Southampton. At one time they were considerably larger rivers than they are

now, covering with their floods much land in and around Southampton which is now high and dry. But gradually they diminished and accommodated themselves to the beds in which they now flow. It has been calculated that for at least 3,000 years the general appearance of this southern part of Hampshire has been substantially what it is to-day—the two rivers meeting at the Southampton peninsula, and the sea coming up Southampton Water to greet them, and bear them company on their further journey to the Solent and the great Deep beyond.

3. The Advantages of the Site

It will thus be seen that the powers of nature have combined to render the site on which Southampton stands one of very great importance. Looked at from the sea, Southampton Water, with its deep recesses and its island screen, is one of the finest harbours in the world. Looked at from the lands beyond the sea, this port presents an easy and obvious approach to vessels bound for England, whether they come from the neighbouring coasts of France, or from the more distant regions of Asia, Africa, the West Indies, and America. Looked at from the point of view of England herself, Southampton stands at the entrance of one of the strategic highways into the heart of the country ; for the valley of the Itchen leads up to the great water-divide at the north of the county, through which gap at Basingstoke access can be gained either to London on the east, or Bristol on the west, or, beyond the famous Wallingford on the Thames, to the wide plains of the Midlands. From times immemorial, therefore, the site of Southampton must have been one of commanding importance.

CHAPTER II

THE PREHISTORIC AGES

1. The Old Stone Period

We have noted that for three thousand years or more the appearance of the southern part of Hampshire has remained in its great general features unchanged: the Test and the Itchen have held their present courses; Southampton Water has existed as an arm of the sea; the Isle of Wight, separated from the mainland, has sheltered the harbour from the fury of the Atlantic gales; the English Channel has divided England from the continent.

The oldest relics of man, however, that are found in this neighbourhood belong to an immeasurably earlier era, an era during which the face of the earth—the whole distribution of land and water—was widely different from what it is at the present day. They belong to a time before Southampton Water had been formed, when the Solent was no more than a river, and when no 'salt estranging' channel divided this country from the continent. These relics are the rough flint implements of the Old Stone (usually called the *Palaeolithic*) Period. They have been, and are still to be, discovered in unusually large numbers, and of remarkable variety, in the gravel beds which lie on or near the surface of the whole of the Southampton peninsula. For instance, over one hundred fine specimens have recently been procured from the one gravel pit situated below Highfield Church; many have come from the now nearly exhausted pit in St. James's Road, Shirley; others are regularly turned up by the grave-diggers in the cemetery. These implements were probably carried down ages ago from the higher slopes of the county by the great streams which wore away the upper strata of the chalk ridges, and

deposited their flints, to a thickness of some fifteen feet in places, in drifts along the beds of the rivers' lower reaches. Of the men who made these primitive weapons and tools we know practically nothing. All that we can say with confidence is that they were ignorant of almost all the arts and amenities of civilized life : they could not light a fire ; they could not sow or reap ; they could not spin or weave ; they knew not how to domesticate animals ; they did not bury their dead. They shared the land with wild animals whose very kinds have vanished from the earth, prominent among which was the mammoth, or huge hairy elephant, some of whose teeth, found in the local gravels, in close conjunction with the flint implements, can be seen in the museum of the Hartley College. All efforts to fix precisely the dates at which these primitive human beings inhabited these parts must be regarded as vain. Estimates vary from 20,000 to 100,000 years. It seems probable that this oldest of the races who have left remains has no direct descendants living to-day upon these shores ; it is supposed, however, that a kinship exists between it and the modern race of the Eskimos.

2. The New Stone Period

The relics of the New Stone Period belong to an era separated by an immense gulf of time from those of the Old Stone Period. During the incalculably wide interval great geological and physical changes had taken place in this part of the world. The Ice Age had come and gone, leaving behind it, in boulders and moraines, indelible traces of its bergs and glaciers. Albion and Hibernia (Great Britain and Ireland) had become islands, and had (as we have already seen) assumed the main features which they continue to manifest to-day. The remains of the civilization of this period are, as geologists reckon time, quite recent ; they can nearly all be assigned to the era 2000—500 B.C. They are, too, much more numerous and varied than are those of the Old Stone Period. (1) To begin with, there are the stone tools and weapons. Though these are generally made from flint, yet implements of other

materials, such as the grey wether stone, are to be found. But whatever the kind of stone, it has not been left rough-chipped as it used to be by the earlier race of men. It is smooth-polished, sharp-ground to a keen edge, and so shaped as to lend itself to fixture in a haft or handle.

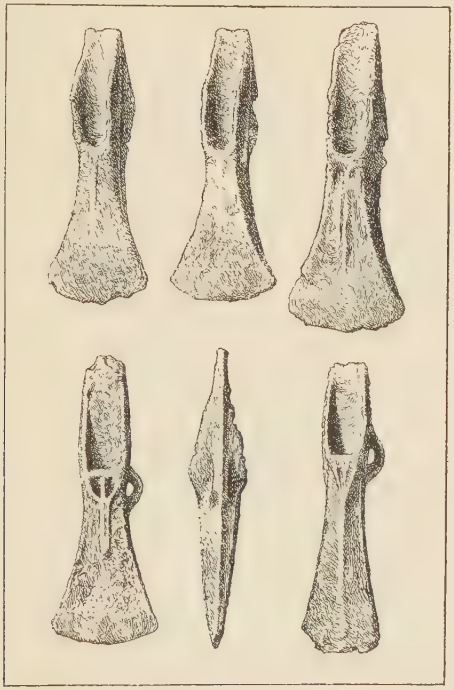

Fig. 2. Prehistoric Implements

Besides the edged implements there are hammer-stones, pot-boilers, bone needles, and other simple appliances. (2) Next there are the ' long barrows ' or burial mounds, in which the distinguished dead of these old races of men were interred. These oval-shaped mounds yield skeletons and other human remains, which enable us to say that the men of the New Stone Period were short in stature and

dark in complexion, and that they had heads similar to those of that mysterious people, the Basques, who to this day inhabit the mountain fastnesses of the Pyrenees, speaking a tongue and observing customs widely different from those of the Spanish peoples to whose kingdom they are subject. We gather that the folk who made these long barrows had discovered that some animals such as the ox, the goat, and the dog, can be tamed and used in the service of man; that, further, they had learned the arts of spinning and weaving, but that they had *not* yet established any settled system of agriculture. The name usually given to this old race of islanders is *Ivernian*, and it is agreed that, although much intermingled with other and later races, it has never died out, but that a descent in part Ivernian can be claimed by many of the present people of Wales and of the Scottish Highlands. The local relics of these Ivernian inhabitants of the New Stone Age are found in the peat beds which overlie the gravel in the lower parts of the town and beneath Southampton Water. They are discovered when docks are being made, when deep foundations are being digged, and when the dredging operations are carried on in the water. With them are upturned the bones of the ox, the horse, the boar, the red deer, the reindeer, and other animals. Not far from Southampton, e. g. on Old Winchester Hill, in the Meon Valley, can be seen excellent examples of their long barrows, and it is probable that the hill-fastnesses on such heights as Old Winchester Hill and St. Catherine's Hill are to be assigned to the same people. Finally, it may be added, it seems likely that in Stonehenge, in Wiltshire (supposed to be of date about 1500 B. C.), we have the remains of a neolithic temple, dedicated to the worship of the sun.

3. The Bronze Period

The New Stone Period merged without a break into the Bronze Period. We cannot be quite sure how the transition was brought about. Perhaps the Ivernians learned the use of metals from the more civilized peoples of Southern Europe, to whom it had long been known.

It seems more likely, however, that bronze implements and the knowledge of how to make them were brought to this island about the year 500 B. C. by Celtic invaders—tall, fair-complexioned Gaels—who, strong in their superior weapons, attacked the Ivernians and drove them away from the lowlands of the south and east into the mountain strongholds of the north and west.

That the men of the Bronze Age had settlements near Southampton is made evident by many infallible proofs. Their metal tools and implements of war have been found at various places close at hand ; for instance leaf-shaped swords at Bittern and Checkenhall, lance-heads at St. Denys and Bishopstoke, and a hoard of no less than forty-one palstaves in one spot at Pear Tree Green, in 1898. Moreover, their burial places, the round barrows, abound on the heath between Beaulieu and Hythe, and on other open stretches of country round about. The Celts of the Bronze Age developed a moderately advanced civilization. They tilled the soil ; they worked mines ; they made pottery ; they built boats ; they carried on commerce with Phoenician and Greek merchants, until the slow process of their advance was roughly interrupted—though afterwards immensely quickened — by the coming of the Romans. There is no evidence that the 'Southampton' of this period was of the smallest historical distinction.

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN PERIOD: B. C. 55–A. D. 410

1. The Coming of the Romans

About half a century before the beginning of the Christian Era, the Romans, under that incomparable soldier and statesman, Julius Caesar, were engaged upon the conquest of Gaul. The reduction of that large country, which was roughly co-terminous with modern France, required no less than eight campaigns. The southern portion presented but little difficulty; the people of the north, however, not only eluded conquest by means of their ships, they also drew formidable reinforcements from the mysterious and unexplored land of Albion (as this island was then called) beyond the narrow seas. Julius Caesar, therefore, moved partly by military necessity and partly by mere curiosity, led across expeditions (55 and 54 B. C.) which temporarily occupied the south-eastern corner of the island, which overawed the natives, and forced them to make treaties, and promise tribute, and which, above all, made Albion familiarly known to the Roman world, and so prepared the way to its permanent annexation. It was no part of Julius Caesar's plan, however, to incorporate Albion in the growing empire of Rome: he had as much as he could deal with in Gaul and Italy. It was not till nearly a century later (A. D. 43) that efforts began seriously to be made to conquer the country; and (since Caesar had landed in Kent) it was not till then that the Celtic inhabitants of Hampshire saw the standards of the Roman legions for the first time. The Roman emperor of the day was Claudius, and he himself visited Albion to receive the submission of its southern tribes when their resistance had been broken down by his generals.

2. Local Incidents

The conquest of the Hampshire region was entrusted to the second legion under the command of a general whose success in accomplishing his task helped to raise him twenty years later to the supreme position of emperor. His name was Vespasian, and he was accompanied by his son Titus, who is well known to later history as the conqueror of Jerusalem, and the scatterer of the Jews. These able commanders found the reduction of the southern tribes no easy task ; they had to fight no less than thirty battles, and take as many as twenty towns before it was complete. On one occasion, Vespasian's life was in so much danger that only the personal bravery of Titus saved it.

One story connected with the Roman Conquest has so close a relation to Southampton that, though it is almost certainly legendary, it cannot be omitted. We are told by some of the Early English chroniclers that during the first year of the Roman invasion, Claudius, having received the submission of one of the British chiefs, by name Guiderius, treacherously caused him to be put to death at Porchester ; that in consequence of this outrage his brother Arviragus strired up the tribesmen to fresh war ; that he defeated the Romans in a great battle near the sea, and after the battle caught up and slew a certain Laelius Hamo, who had been the inciter of the outrage, and whose home was on the site ever afterwards called by his name, ' Hamo's town ' or ' Hampton '.

A famous Latin road-book of the third century, known as the *Itinerary of Antonine*, tells us that the Romans had a station called Clausentum, not far from Winchester, and, though the name is mentioned nowhere else in all Latin literature, the distances given in this *Itinerary* enable scholars, without much hesitation, to identify the spot with a Roman settlement, of which many relics have been found, just opposite Southampton, on the east bank of the Itchen, at Bittern Manor. It occupied the whole of the peninsula formed by the winding river in its course

below St. Denys ; on its land side it was defended by two deep ditches (probably of British origin), and a strong wall ; it formed an important outpost of the central Roman station, twelve miles higher up the stream at Winchester.

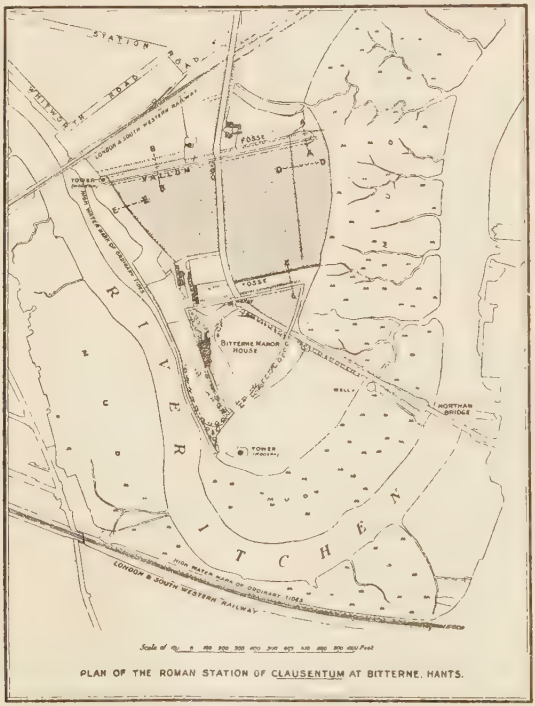

Fig. 3. Map of Clausentum

3. Roman Remains

It has just been mentioned that many relics of the Romans and their occupation are still to be seen in this neighbourhood. (1) On the site of Clausentum itself the depressions of the two defensive ditches can even now be

traced, and one fragment of a massive wall remains. In the museum of the Hartley College are deposited other and more important evidences of the Roman rule. Among these are two inscribed milestones of the time of the usurper Tetricus (A. D. 267–73), and an altar-stone, dedicated to a goddess, otherwise unknown, viz. *Ancasta*, possibly the reputed guardian of the river. There are also

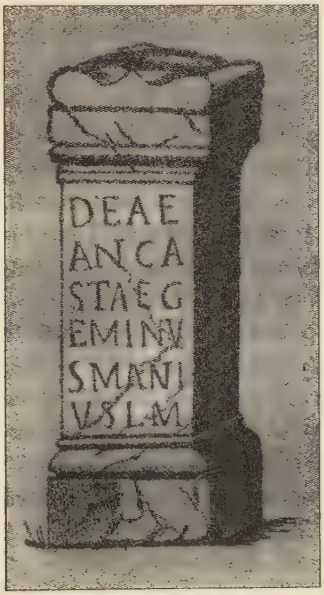

FIG. 4. ROMAN ALTAR-STONE

fragments of pottery made at the Roman kilns of the New Forest and the Weald. At various times large numbers of Roman coins have been unearthed at Bittern Manor. Those in the collection made by Sir Stuart Macnaghten, the late owner, form an almost continuous series, ranging from coins struck under Tiberius (who died A. D. 37) to those minted under Arcadius (who died A. D. 408). From these the obvious inference is that Clausentum was held

by the Romans during almost the whole of the four centuries of their occupation of Britain. The coins which are most abundant are those (in other places rare) of three third-century usurpers, viz. Tetricus (A. D. 267–73), Carausius (A. D. 287–94), and Allectus (A. D. 294–6). The fact that all three depended for their existence on the command of the Channel, makes it not improbable that Clausentum was the station of their fleets, and the seat of their short-lived authority. (2) On the west side of the Itchen sufficient Roman relics have from time to time been discovered to suggest that some sort of Roman or Romano-British settlement existed over against Clausentum. On Portswood Hill, in 1852, three Roman tombs were found; coins have been turned up in St. Mary's Street, the High Street, and other places; some very perfect specimens of Roman pottery have now and again been discovered, of which a vessel (*amphora*) from the foundations of No. 91, High Street—now in the Hartley Museum—is perhaps the best. (3) From many places in the neighbourhood of Southampton evidence of the presence of the Romans has come. There is a fine Roman villa at Brading, in the Isle of Wight; another at Little Lippen Wood, near West Meon, a third at Stroud near Petersfield. Roman pottery works existed at Sloden, in the New Forest. A bronze *fibula* (clasp, or buckle) and other traces of a Roman settlement have presented themselves at Nursling. Forty years ago a hoard of no less than 1,800 Roman coins was found in one spot at Netley. It is clear that the whole region was securely held and effectively occupied by those great old pioneers of civilization, under whose just and strong rule peace was maintained, forests were tamed, roads were made, towns were built, agriculture was developed, art was improved, and Christianity was introduced. The debt of the modern world to the Romans is incalculably great.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT: A. D. 410–800

1. The Coming of the English

The Romans departed from Britain early in the fifth century of the Christian era. They were summoned by the emperor to join his continental legions in a life-or-death struggle with the Goths, who had forced their way across the Danube frontier, and who in A. D. 410 were strong enough not only to enter Italy, but even to capture and pillage the city of Rome itself. The Roman soldiers and rulers never returned, so that the province of Britain was left, a derelict, to its fate.

What its fate would be was not long left in doubt. Even before the Romans left, so far back as the end of the third century in fact, the coasts of the island had been troubled by the attacks of pirates, who hailed from the regions now known as Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, and Friesland. So serious had these attacks become, that along the eastern and southern shores of Britain, from the Wash to Selsey, fortifications had been erected or strengthened, and a special official, called the Count of the Saxon Shore, had been appointed, with a powerful fleet under his command, to guard the approaches to the island. As soon as the Roman legions had gone, the Saxon freebooters renewed their attacks, and after a fierce struggle, made settlements, and established kingdoms in Britain. First Kent, the richest and most civilized part of the Roman province, was overrun (449). Next, Sussex was occupied (471). Then followed the conquest of Hampshire. It was in 495, we are told by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that the Saxon tribe of the Gewissas, under their aldermen (hereditary chiefs), Cerdic and Cynric his son, sailed up Southampton Water, and made

themselves at home. They came not merely as conquerors, but as emigrants, bringing their wives and children with them, and leaving the sites of their old settlements in Europe desolate. It would appear that they first planted and fortified themselves at Hamtun (which *may* mean 'the home-enclosure'), and that Hamtun became the base of their subsequent operations, and the centre from which they governed their earliest conquests, the region called after the town 'Hamtunscire' or Hampshire. If all these somewhat doubtful names, and dates, and surmises be true, then Hamtun is one of the most notable historic spots in the world; for the primitive settlement of the Gewissas, wherever it was and whenever it was made, was destined to develop in the gradual course of the ages into first the kingdom of Wessex, secondly the realm of England, and finally the wide-spreading British empire, comprising one-fourth of the land-area of the globe.

We must not suppose, however, that this all-important settlement of Hamtun, and this occupation of Hampshire, were effected without a severe struggle. The Romanized British inhabitants were strong in the possession of fortresses like Clausentum and Porchester, and walled towns like Winchester and Silchester. The Gewissas could have had no siege-implements, and the reduction of the strongholds of the shire must have been a labour extending over many slow years. Legend says that the British leader against the invading host of the pagan Saxons was King Arthur, and it tells us that in 517 Arthur's nephew, Hoel, king of Brittany, landed at 'Hamo's port' or Hamtun, bringing large reinforcements to his uncle, and further, that the same year King Arthur, paying a visit to the Continent, sailed from 'the port of Hamo', leaving his nephew, Mordreth, regent of his realm and guardian of Queen Geneviere. Whatever element of fact there may be behind these tales of the later chroniclers we have good reason to believe that in 519 Cerdic and Cynric gained a decisive victory at Cerdicsford (Charford on the Hants Avon), and made themselves complete masters of southern Hampshire—the original kingdom of Wessex.

Thence their descendants spread themselves at the expense of Britons on the west and of South Saxons and Jutes on the east until, in three hundred years, viz. at the death of King Egbert in 837, Wessex and its dependencies extended from the Straits of Dover to Land's End.

2. The Conversion of the English

Long, however, before Wessex reached these large limits, profound changes had taken place in the Gewissas, or West Saxon peoples. When, in the fifth and sixth centuries, they had settled in South Hampshire, they had been pagans—worshippers of the powers of nature—fierce, migratory, barbarian. During the three centuries after their coming they had become settled in pastoral village communities, their manners had become milder, and, above all, they had abandoned their paganism and accepted Christianity.

The Christian Church had, of course, been planted in Britain during Roman times; indeed, in Britain, as throughout the rest of the Roman empire, for nearly a quarter of a century before the departure of the legions, Christianity had been the only legal religion. But the English invaders had swept the Christianized Britons before them, and forced them to take refuge amid the mountain-fastnesses of Wales, and the Christian religion had been stamped out through all the lands of the conquerors. The Christian Church, however, resolved to win back these fair regions for the faith, and to convert the warlike pagans. Accordingly, Roman missionaries in 597 landed in Kent, while a generation later missionaries from the British monastery of Iona began to labour in Northumbria. The conversion of Wessex was the work of one of the Roman missionaries, Birinus by name. He landed at Southampton from Italy in 634, and from Southampton made his way to the court of King Cynegils, at Dorchester in Oxfordshire. Cynegils lent a favourable ear to his arguments, and was baptized, Dorchester being made the seat of a bishop. In 686 the bishopric was moved from Dorchester to Winchester, which from that

time began to supersede Hamtun as the capital or administrative centre of ' Hamtunshire ' and Wessex.

This removal of the bishopric from Dorchester to Winchester coincided in point of time with, and probably was closely connected with, the conversion of the Isle of Wight to Christianity, which occurred the same year (686). It was a kind of conversion common enough at the barbaric beginning of the Middle Ages, but happily not familiar to modern times. Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, was the missionary, and his arguments were fire and sword. He attacked the Jutish inhabitants of the island, slew three-fourths of them (900 families out of 1,200), together with their king, Earwald, and confiscated all the land. Two young sons of Earwald escaped the massacre, and reached their kinsmen in the Meon valley in safety. But Ceadwalla hunted them out, and took them captive. In order to secure their eternal salvation he sent them to the Abbey of Redbridge, situated where the river Test falls into Southampton Water, so that Abbot Cynebert might instruct and evangelize them. As soon as he heard that they had been baptized into the Church, he ordered their execution.

3. The Consolidation of the English

The conversion of the English peoples to Christianity was one of the most powerful of the causes which led to the union of these peoples, and their gradual consolidation into one kingdom. The Synod of Whitby (664) and the administrative genius of Archbishop Theodore (668–90) brought all the churches of England under the authority of Canterbury, and organized the subject dioceses of the bishops, so that in 673 it was possible to call at Hertford a general council representative of every bishopric in the island. The Church became a working model of unity to the State.

The kings were not slow to learn the lesson taught thus effectively by Archbishop Theodore and his successors. They struggled with one another for national supremacy, and sought to establish a kingdom which should comprise

all the Angle, Saxon, and Jutish tribes. Their mutual rivalries of course postponed the realization of their dreams. First the kings of Northumbria (617–85) established a fleeting superiority over the rulers of the six other kingdoms of the Heptarchy; next the kings of Mercia (685–825) gained the upper hand; but finally (825) the king of Wessex, the great Egbert, friend and disciple of the Emperor Charlemagne, as the result of brilliant victories and strong government, once and for all secured the supremacy of Wessex, and became in fact the first king of England.

It was during the stormy years preceding the West Saxon triumph that the name of Hamtun first found its way into the now extant records of these early times. In 755 Wessex—then extending from Devonshire to Surrey—was ruled by the weak and wicked Sigebert. So badly did he govern that the Witan deposed him, and raised his kinsman, Cynewulf, to be king. They, however, left him the subordinate governorship of ' Hamtunscyre ', which was probably the southern half of the modern county of Hampshire, with Southampton as its centre. He managed to hold even this for but a brief time; a second time deposed, he was assassinated on the Weald of Sussex by the servant of a noble whom he had murdered.

CHAPTER V

THE DANISH INVASIONS: A. D. 800–1042

1. The Period of Plundering Raids

The ultimate triumph of the kings of Wessex over all their rivals, and the successful founding of the kingdom of England, were due very largely, as has already been noted, to the example and the fostering influence of the Church. But towards the end of the eighth century (787) another force began to operate, powerfully although indirectly, in the same direction. This force was the pitiless and destructive pressure of the Danes.

The Danes—or Northmen, as they are more properly called—came from the regions now known as Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. They were akin to the English in race, but they still remained what the English had ceased to be for a couple of centuries, viz. pagan in religion and bloodthirsty pirates by profession. Towards the close of the eighth century they began seriously to ravage the coasts of Europe. Germany, France, England, Spain, and even the sheltered lands of the Mediterranean—all were visited by the devastating violence of this new and terrible enemy of civilization and Christianity. It was not till the year 837—just fifty years after it first touched the east coast of England—that the storm reached Southampton. But in that year it burst in full fury. No less than thirty-three Danish vessels sailed up Southampton Water, and poured their pirate-crews upon the shore at 'Hamtoun'. But they were not fated at that time to destroy and plunder the town. The approach of the enemy had been noised through all the countryside, and the brave alderman of the shire, Wulfhard by name, was ready to receive them. When they had landed he joined battle with them, and after a desperate conflict he pre-

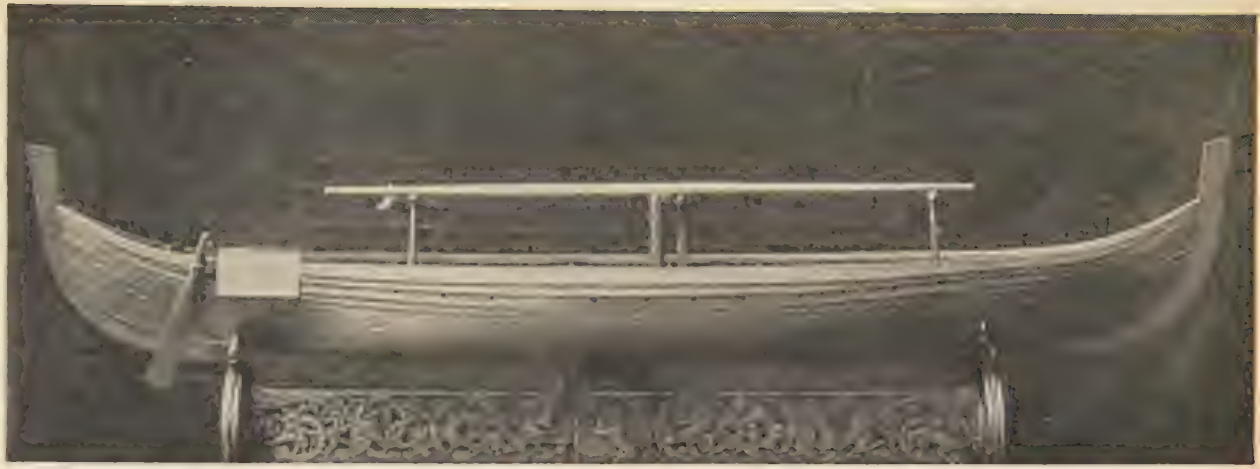

Fig. 5. Viking Ship

vailed, and drove them with great slaughter (no quarter would be asked or given on either side) back to their ships. Three years later King Ethelwulf was here, probably looking to the defences of the borough, and pondering the problem of the command of the sea; we have a charter of his dated 840, from 'the royal town called Hamtun'.

2. The Period of Settlement

As years went on, in spite of all repulses, the Danes grew bolder or more desperate. They began to come in larger numbers, to penetrate further inland, to stay longer, and to widen their purposes and plans, until finally they resolved not to go away at all, but to drive out the English and settle themselves in their territory.

Southampton played a not unimportant part in this second phase of the great conflict. In 860 the pagan host landed here. They did not, however, pause to capture the town, they had an even richer prize in view. They made straight for Winchester, and that important city, the very seat and centre of the West Saxon monarchy, they took by storm and utterly despoiled. But on their way back to their ships, being heavy-laden with their plunder, they were attacked by the combined forces of Hampshire and Berkshire, led by the aldermen of the two shires. The outraged English exacted a fearful vengeance from the invaders; having routed them with immense slaughter, they drove the survivors in swift flight down to and across the sea.

At the time when this notable fight took place Alfred, son of Ethelwulf, afterwards king and deliverer of the English, was a boy of eleven years of age. It was when he grew to manhood and succeeded his father and his three elder brothers on the throne that the conflict between the English and the Danes reached its crisis. It is regrettable that no direct statement of any of the chroniclers of the period connect Alfred and the stirring events of his reign with Hampton; but the fact that Winchester was his capital city, coupled with the fact

that he gave close attention to the building of ships and the improvement of navigation, makes it practically certain that Hampton and its harbour knew him well.

Of Alfred's many titles to fame two of the most important were, first, that, after thoroughly defeating the Danish invaders, he came to a permanent understanding with them, under the terms of which they agreed to molest Wessex no more; secondly, that he won them from paganism to Christianity and allowed them to settle down as peaceful colonists in Essex and East Anglia. For an interval of some eighty years after his death the shores of England were left in almost unbroken peace, while within the borders of the island the settlers of the 'Danelaw' became gradually amalgamated in fruitful union with their former enemies the English. But if during the greater part of the tenth century Hampton was permitted peacefully to recover from the injuries of the period of strife, the town did not escape other calamities which made sufficient noise at the time to secure mention in the scanty pages of the annalists. In 935 heavy floods carried off a large number of the inhabitants; in 951 the town was nearly destroyed by lightning.

Finally, it is of interest to note that in a charter of King Edgar dated 962 the name 'Suthamtune' (as distinct from the simple 'Hamtune') is found for the first time. King Edgar ruled not only over Wessex with its Hamton, but also over Mercia which had a Hamton of its own. Hence it became desirable to distinguish the one by the prefix 'South', the other by the prefix 'North'. For a long while, however, in each case the form Hamton continued to be employed, alongside the fuller designation—a frequent source of doubt and uncertainty to historians.

3. The Period of Conquest

Towards the end of the tenth century, when the weak and tactless Ethelred 'the Unready' was king, the period of freedom from Danish attacks came to an end. But the new invasions differed widely from those of the earlier

reigns, and they were of a much more formidable character. Denmark and Norway had become strong kingdoms, ruled by powerful and allied monarchs, and these kings, Sweyn and Olaf, able soldiers and far-sighted statesmen, resolved to conquer England and make it the nucleus of a Northern Empire which should include all the settlements of the Scandinavian peoples from Greenland and Iceland on the west to the Baltic lands on the east. They had small desire for plunder; they had no wish at all to plant settlements; they wanted complete political control. They came over with the force of the national armies behind them and they found no power in England capable of resisting them. For Ethelred had offended his nobles by his efforts to take away their feudal privileges, and he had quarrelled with the Church owing to his resistance to the monastic reforms which Edgar and Dunstan had introduced. Sweyn and Olaf found the faction-torn island a comparatively easy prey.

Southampton appears to have been in the very centre and forefront of their assault, and they seem to have involved it in utter destruction. In 979 an advance-guard of seven Danish ships began the work of ruin. Not only did they capture the town, but (says Richard of Cirencester, the chronicler) they slew or carried off almost all the citizens. Two years later (981) for a second time the place was ravaged. Then, in 994, the two kings themselves landed here and made this region the base of their operations—their fleets riding at anchor in Southampton Water and their armies encamped on the land. Sweyn of Denmark, it has been suggested, occupied Southampton, while Olaf of Norway took up his station on the east bank of the Itchen on a spot which since then has been called Olaf's town or Woolston. Ethelred, unable to drive them away, tried to secure their departure by payments of money, and all the winter they remained in their encampments while the foolish king moved heaven and earth to scrape together the £16,000 (an enormous sum for those days) which they demanded as the price of their peaceful return home. The money was at length procured, and the country freed of the invaders. Olaf's

departure was final; he never came back any more. For while he had been encamped at the mouth of the Itchen he had been visited by Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester, who had persuaded him to visit King Ethelred at Andover, and while there he had received confirmation as a Christian and had made a lasting treaty of peace with the English. Sweyn of Denmark, however, was a man of different mould. The money which he received as a bribe to depart only lured him to come again and yet again, each time demanding larger sums. In 994, in 998, in 1001, in 1003, and once more in 1009, all the region of Hampshire and the surrounding shires was harried by this insatiable and unconquerable foe; and when four years later (1013) still another invasion was threatened, the despairing people prayed the king who could do nothing for them to leave them so that they might be free to make terms with the destroyer. Hence in that year Ethelred came for the last time to Southampton and took ship for the Isle of Wight, whence he crossed the channel to Normandy, to the court of Duke Richard, his wife's brother, with whom he sought sanctuary. Then the English made submission to Sweyn and were preparing to crown him king when in some sudden and mysterious way Sweyn met death. For two fierce and troubled years following the death of Sweyn (1014–16) the struggle between the English and the Danes was renewed, but at the end Sweyn's son, Canute, made himself master of the kingdom. It was at Southampton in 1017 that the Witan of England met to acknowledge him as their lord.

Canute reigned eighteen years, and he proved to be a king of exceptional wisdom and ability. During a turbulent two centuries after his death his strong and beneficent rule was remembered with regret by both English and Danes. Tradition associates him closely with Southampton, and though the building now popularly known as ' Canute's Palace ' was certainly not erected till long after his day, it is probable that he was frequently in residence here. In the story which Henry of Huntingdon tells of the great king's rebuke to his servile courtiers, it is at Southampton that the scene is placed. It was on

the shore of Southampton Water, the legend runs, that the royal throne was placed in order that it might be seen whether or not the waves would obey the command of him whose word was omnipotent among the men who thronged the beach.

On the death of Canute in 1035 a new struggle for the crown began. The two sons of Canute, Harold and Hardicanute, were the chief rivals ; but there was a third who hoped that at length his chance had come. This was Edward, afterwards known as ' the Confessor ', son of the miserable Ethelred the Unready. For over twenty years he had been an exile at the Norman court, biding his time. Now with forty ships and a large body of men he crossed from Normandy and landed at Southampton. But he found the folk of England by no means ready to receive him. Hence, seeing the forces arrayed against him were too strong, he returned to Normandy, not however empty handed, for we are told that he carried with him much booty.

Seven years later (1042) the same Edward came again to Southampton, this time with better hope of a successful issue to his enterprise. After landing he hastened to London—purposely passing by Winchester, where his mother Queen Emma, whom the chroniclers call ' the Old Lady ', was living—and was accepted by Earl Godwin of Wessex and by the Witan as king. With the accession of Edward the Confessor the Norman period really began. For Edward, though born in England, was half Norman in blood, and wholly Norman in education and taste. All his close friends were Norman, and from the very commencement of his reign the Norman influence was strong throughout the land.

Before we pass on, however, to note the events of the Norman period, mention must be made of one matter of considerable local interest. There is a very old tradition—it is recorded by both Leland and Camden, the antiquarian writers of the sixteenth century—that the Anglo-Saxon town of Hampton was not situated upon the plot of ground enclosed by the existing walls and gates. It is said that the old and original Hampton clustered round the mother

church of St. Mary well to the east of the later mediaeval fortress, whose stately relics are with us still. It is true that nearly all the remains of the Anglo-Saxon period, consisting mainly of coins and domestic utensils, have been found round about St. Mary's, and that within the walled area nothing, so far, save one solitary eighth-century coin, has been turned up. Yet for all that it is difficult to believe that the supremely important site of modern Southampton was ever left untenanted, and it is probable that the tradition of the migration is due to the destruction of outlying townships by the Danish invaders of 979–1009 and the flight of their inhabitants to the more strongly defended borough at the point of the peninsula. The matter, however, is one that calls for further investigation.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANGLO-NORMAN UNION : A. D. 1042–1204

1. The Norman Conquest

The Norman Conquest was a process rather than an event. It was foreshadowed in 1002 when Ethelred the Unready married Emma, the sister of Duke Richard ; it was brought near when in 1013 Ethelred with his wife and children sought an asylum at the Norman court ; it was begun when Ethelred's heir, Edward the Confessor, claimed and secured his father's throne in 1042. Through the whole of the twenty-four years of Edward's reign the conflict was waged, a conflict none the less bitter and deadly because only now and again did the contending factions draw the sword upon one another. Edward brought with him from beyond the Channel a train of Norman nobles and churchmen ; to these he gave his confidence, on these he bestowed offices, and with these he took counsel. The English, led by Earl Godwin of Wessex and his sons, resented this 'peaceful penetration' and resisted it with an ever increasing violence which culminated in open war in 1051. The feeble king in vain tried to restore harmony and in the end had to yield to the demands of the English faction. But the Normans were only biding their time, and in 1066, when King Edward died, they made their supreme effort, and this effort—by a marvellous combination of circumstances, and contrary to all probability—was successful. The English elected Harold, son of Godwin, as their king. Before, however, he could establish himself on his throne he was attacked by three separate and distinct enemies ; by his own brother Tostig, who claimed the earldom of Northumbria, by Harold Hardrada of Norway, a viking on conquest and plunder bent, and by William of Nor-

mandy, who declared himself the lawful king of England by nomination of the Confessor, and by benediction of the Pope. Of the first two of his enemies Harold disposed in a single battle, fought at Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire, and of William of Normandy he would have disposed equally easily and effectively had it not been that the treacherous and cowardly earls of Northumbria and Mercia, who held half of England under their immediate sway, refused, till too late, to lend their aid to the salvation of their land and the succour of their king. Hence it was that Harold with only the men drawn from the earldoms administered by himself and his brothers, and these wearied by a long and rapid march, had to meet the Norman host. He was defeated and killed at Hastings on October 14, 1066. Even then, however, the Norman Conquest was not complete ; not till 1072 was the English resistance wholly worn down and William acknowledged as king by all the land. The Norman Conquest was at the time disastrous for the English ; their estates were confiscated, they themselves were made a subject people. But soon the benefits of the new administration began to outnumber and outweigh its evils : a stronger government was established, the Church was purified, connexion with the Continent was opened up, the arts were improved, learning was fostered.

Southampton's share in the critical events of 1066 was apparently not prominent. That her citizens fought on the losing side at Hastings and after is rendered almost certain by the fact that the Domesday Survey shows that an extensive confiscation of English property within the borough had taken place. But if Southampton played only a small part in determining the issue of the great struggle, few towns were more directly and powerfully influenced by the Norman victory. For by that victory the English kingdom and the French duchy were linked together in the closest ties of personal union for nearly a century and a half, and Southampton became the port of arrival and departure of a never ceasing succession of kings, warriors, statesmen, and priests. Moreover, to these Norman rulers the New Forest was a favourite hunting-

ground, and frequently the love of the chase brought the kings with their bands of courtiers down to the royal houses in Hampton—the repair and maintenance of which figure largely in the national accounts of the period.

2. The Domesday Survey

We fortunately have in Domesday Book, of date 1086, a description of Southampton at the beginning of the Norman period, which, though brief and full of puzzles, is of the highest interest and value. We are told (1) that in 'Hantune' the king had at that time seventy-six tenants-in-chief who held lands direct from him on burgage tenure, and that they paid a total sum of £7 a year in rent for these lands; (2) that there were, further, ninety-six inhabitants (sixty-five French and thirty-one English), settlers in the town during the preceding twenty years, who paid to the king various dues which amounted to £4 0*s.* 6*d.* in all; (3) that certain important people, mentioned by name to the number of thirty, held lands or houses or fishing-rights in the borough: these people all, or nearly all, were magnates who also held fiefs in the county, and it is probable that in respect of these fiefs they had the special obligation of seeing to the defence of their county-borough.

It will be seen that the information given by Domesday is of a strictly limited character. It tells us, as it told and was intended to tell William the Conqueror for whom it was compiled, only such facts as related to the payments of moneys or the rendering of services to the king. Hence we can gather from it nothing whatever as to the population in general of the town, either its number or its divisions, its mode of government, its churches and religious houses, or its municipal privileges and customs.

The only other borough in Hampshire at the time was Winchester, which occupied in respect to the northern part of the county the position which Southampton held in regard to the southern part. The great survey makes no mention of Portsmouth, Gosport, Petersfield, or Lymington.

3. The Development of Southampton

The increased importance which Southampton acquired as a port of connexion between England and Normandy led to its rapid development during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Many of the most valuable architectural treasures of the town date from that period. The inner arch of the Bargate is of Norman

Fig. 6. Room in Norman House (King John's Palace)

workmanship ; so too are the arches which support the spire of St. Michael's Church. The so-called ' King John's Palace ' on the western shore forms a relic of the capacious royal residence which once with its appurtenances probably occupied all the south-western corner of the borough : some antiquarians consider it to be the oldest fragment of domestic architecture remaining in England. The castle was either originally built or considerably strengthened by the Norman kings : it was of sufficient importance to be specifically mentioned in the treaty of Wallingford made between Stephen and Henry of Anjou

in 1153. The priory of St. Denys was founded by Henry I about 1124; the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen for lepers by the burgesses about 1173; and the hospital of God's House for pilgrims and the poor by Gervaise the bailiff in 1185. Southampton's trade at this time consisted mainly in imports of wine; the records of the time abound in royal orders respecting their disposal and the payment of the proper dues.

4. The Struggle for the Crown

In mediaeval times the question of the succession to the crown in England was one which nearly always had to be settled by fighting. No fixed rule of appointment had been established, and claimants by descent and claimants by election were compelled to maintain their claims by force and craft.

Southampton saw a good deal of the successive struggles among the descendants of the Conqueror. In 1087 Robert of Normandy landed here demanding as the eldest son of William I the throne of England. He found, however, that his clever and unscrupulous younger brother William Rufus was already in possession, and was strong in the support of the English people. Hence he had to come to terms with William's envoys who met him here on his landing: he accepted an annuity of £2,000 coupled with a formal recognition of his royalty, and returned to Normandy. In 1094, when William Rufus and Robert were again quarrelling in and concerning Normandy, their brother Henry (afterwards Henry I) landed in Southampton having fled from Domfront in order to get out of their way and so avoid being mixed up in the unholy broil. During the still more serious succession conflict which ensued on the death of Henry I between Stephen and Matilda Southampton took the side of Stephen. In 1142, when for a time Matilda's cause was triumphant, Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother and chief supporter, landed at Wareham from Normandy bent on having vengeance on the men of Southampton. Fortunately for them he was turned aside from his purpose by

Fig. 7. The Water-Gate

the prayers of some powerful men called ' the Vituli ' who had relatives in Southampton—probably no other than the very men, by name William and Ralph, who five years later led a contingent of Southampton folk to join the second Crusade and to aid in the capture of Lisbon from the Moors. In 1153 the castle of Southampton was held for Stephen by his brother Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. The treaty of Wallingford stipulated that on Stephen's death it should be handed over to Henry of Anjou. A few months later, early in 1154, King Stephen himself was here in order to receive the submission of Baldwin de Redvers, the powerful magnate of the Isle of Wight, who had been one of his most determined opponents.

5. The Quarrel of Henry II and Thomas Becket

Before the end of the year 1154 Stephen died and Henry of Anjou, son of Matilda, became king as Henry II. He found the country in fearful disorder as the result of a long period of civil war. Having no rival claimant for the throne to contend against—he was the first king for nearly two centuries to enjoy this good fortune—he set to work at once to re-establish strong government. He found his chief opponents in the barons who had built castles and had made themselves almost independent rulers of their feudal fiefs, and in the clergy who had in the church courts ceased to regard the law of the land. Henry first turned himself to deal with the turbulent and rebellious barons, and in his task of reducing them to submission he received invaluable help from a friend and adviser, Thomas Becket by name, whom he raised to the high office of Chancellor of the Kingdom. When the work of quelling the barons was nearing completion Henry took up the task of re-enforcing the law of the land against the clergy, and, thinking that Thomas Becket would continue to be his faithful servant, he had him elected Archbishop of Canterbury. This was in 1162. Almost at once a great change passed over Thomas Becket ; he cast aside his worldly splendour and gave himself to fasting and

devotion ; he ceased to regard the king and became the unyielding champion of the Church. Henry's affection for Becket gradually gave way to deadly and implacable hate. In 1163, the year after Thomas's election, the relations between the two old friends were strained, yet in that year they met in Southampton, and we are told that ' the king showed himself right blithe, rising up from his seat to meet the archbishop ', and that ' they kissed each other lovingly '. This kiss at their Southampton meeting was perhaps the last they ever gave to one another ; for next year their quarrel flamed forth furiously, and Thomas fled to France, whence he used all his power and all his knowledge of Henry's secret plans to the injury of his former friend and lord. In 1170 a reconciliation was effected, but it was transient and unreal. The struggle broke out again with redoubled fury, and in the dusk of a December day that very year the archbishop was murdered in his cathedral by four men who thought that by their wicked and insane deed they would do Henry a service and win his favour. The murder of the archbishop, who was canonized in 1173 and whose tomb at once became a resort of pilgrims from all Christendom, was fatal to all Henry's plans for the subjugation of the clergy. If Thomas had been powerful in his life, he was ten times more powerful in the sanctity of martyrdom. Only by abject submission and humiliating abasement did Henry save his crown. The victory of the Church was complete. At Avranches, in May, 1172, on a spot (then in a cathedral, now in a public square) still marked by a memorial of the event, the broken and penitent king received the papal absolution. Then, after a two-years struggle for existence, he travelled by way of Harfleur to Southampton, where he landed on June 8, 1174, whence he set out on the journey, in later days to become so famous, through Winchester and along the ' Pilgrim's Way ' to Canterbury, where before the tomb of St. Thomas he knelt as a penitent to receive the flagellations of the monks. Twenty years later, when the inflow of pilgrims had become a serious problem, the pious Gervaise of Hampton built the Hospital of God's House, and dedi-

cated it to St. Julian, the patron saint of voyagers, so that it might receive them after their passage of the Channel and might speed them on their way to the hospitality of St. Cross and St. Swithun at Winchester.

Once again Henry II came to Southampton. It was in 1186, the last year of his life. Plots were thickening round him, and, what made them the more terrible, they were fomented by members of his own family, by those who should have been the stay and support of his declining days. When in 1186 he came to Southampton for the last time he brought his wife, Queen Eleanor, with him as a prisoner. Three years later, broken-hearted at the revolt of his sons Richard and John, he died.

6. The Winning of the Charters

Richard I, who succeeded Henry II—although his home had been at Bordeaux and although his visits to England had been so rare that he had never learned to speak the language—was not unknown to Southampton. In 1176 he, with his brother Geoffrey, the father of the unfortunate Prince Arthur, had landed here on Good Friday, and had here remained to celebrate the Easter festival, after which they went to meet their father, the king, at Winchester.

In 1189, after Henry II's death, Richard was here again, making preparations for his coronation, and the port was alive with great folk coming to take part in the ceremony. The royal yacht (*esnecca*), which was always kept at Southampton ready for the king's use, made no less than six journeys across the Channel to fetch treasure. The Duke of Saxony, the Bishop of Bayeux, the Bishop of Ely, and other magnates were all brought from the Continent to Southampton at the king's expense.

When the coronation festivities were over Richard soon showed that he had no intention to remain in England and devote himself to the humdrum task of governing this island. He panted for adventure ; his desire was for the Holy Land ; his vows pledged him to become a Crusader. To equip his expedition he had urgent need of ready money, and he was prepared to sell anything

whatsoever to get it. Here was an opportunity for the wealthy and ambitious Merchant Guilds of rising commercial towns, eager to secure the right of self-government and free themselves from the exactions of the sheriffs. Southampton, among many other towns, obtained a charter from Richard during the year of his accession: it conferred upon the burgesses the privilege of not being impleaded out of the borough. In 1190 Richard started for the Crusade, and in journeys, wars, and imprisonments, he was away four years. During his absence his brother John plotted against him and entered into a treasonable correspondence with Philip II of France. In 1192 he went so far as to order a ship to be ready for him at Southampton to convey him across the Channel, but the entreaties of his mother, Queen Eleanor, dissuaded him from open alliance with Richard's most deadly foe. In 1194 Richard, ransomed from imprisonment, came back to England and, having put down disaffection in this country, prepared for war upon his enemy Philip II. His preparations brought him again to Southampton, and the only Christmas which he ever spent in this island during his reign he spent here in 1194. For the next five years he was fighting in France, and in France he met his death.

His treacherous brother, the wicked and feeble John, succeeded him. He began his reign by following Richard's example in raising money by the sale of chartered privileges to towns. The borough of Southampton in 1199 obtained two most valuable concessions; the first gave to the burgesses the fee-farm of the town, that is, freed them from the incalculable exactions of the sheriff in return for a fixed annual payment of £200; the second exempted them from various dues and tolls throughout the kingdom. These charters of King John may be regarded as the foundation of Southampton's municipal independence.

LOS ANGELES POPLAR

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE: A. D. 1204–1485

1. The Loss of Normandy

In the year 1204, as a penalty for the grossest misgovernment and incompetence, John lost Normandy, together with the neighbouring provinces of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, all of which were overrun and annexed by Philip II of France. This was an event of most profound importance for England, since it severed that close connexion with the Continent which had been the most marked feature of her history for the preceding century and a half. Henceforth she was left free to develop in her own way; not only geographically an island but politically, socially, intellectually, and in matters of religion, insular. But if the loss of Normandy was to England as a whole an occurrence of so much significance, it was important in a double degree to Southampton. For the port of Southampton, where the kings had kept their yacht and had had their great house, had been the very link of this peaceful alliance between Southern Britain and Northern France; it had been ceaselessly alive with the bustle of the coming and going of English and Norman magnates. The loss of Northern France changed all that, and Southampton was left like the ragged edge of an isthmus broken through by the sea, exposed to all the fury of the tides of war. It continued to be important, became indeed more important than ever; but it was with the importance of a fortress and an arsenal. It did not cease to be the scene of notable events or to be thronged with voyagers; but the voyagers were soldiers armed for the fight, and the events were the incidents of a bitter and long-continued conflict.

Of all the kings who visited Southampton none seems to have been here more frequently than the unhappy and despicable John, to whom this change in the fortunes of the borough was primarily due. From 1204 to the end of his reign in 1216 we have records of no less than fifteen visits. The relic of the Norman house on the western shore is traditionally known as ' King John's Palace ', and until recently a little to the north there existed a pool known as ' King John's Pond ', where it is said the king was wont to water his horses.

2. The Growth of the Power of the Church

Soon after he had lost the French provinces, John involved himself and his kingdom in a quarrel with the Church, which was at that time ruled by Innocent III, one of the ablest and most masterful of the Popes. The question at issue was the right to appoint the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1213, after the Pope had employed against his opponent the weapons of excommunication, and interdict, and bull of deposition, John had to acknowledge complete defeat, and to make abject submission ; he went so far as to surrender his kingdom and receive it again as a papal fief. Henceforward, until towards the end of the century John's grandson, Edward I, began to reassert the national independence, the power of the Pope was greater than the power of the king throughout England, and the revenues drawn from England by Rome were, in some years, larger in amount than the whole income of the state.

Southampton and its neighbourhood were not without evidences of the vigour which characterized the thirteenth-century Church. In 1204 the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu was founded by a colony of thirty monks from the parent house at Citeaux, in Burgundy. Some thirty years later (about 1235) a company of monks from Beaulieu were established on the eastern shore of Southampton Water, in the daughter Abbey of Netley, to which, beginning in 1280, the burgesses of Southampton granted a cask of wine yearly for the administration of the sacrament.

Almost at the same time (about 1237) the Friars Minor, followers of the holy and benevolent St. Francis of Assisi, settled themselves in Southampton, and began their devoted work among the poor and outcast. Their head-quarters were behind the hospital of God's House, in what is now called Gloucester Square. After the lapse of some years a Southampton burgess, named Robert le Mercer, gave them a parcel of land on which to build a chapel; Nicholas Ely, Bishop of Winchester, promised to give them the building—a promise which he had not fulfilled at the time of his death in 1280; in 1287, however, the chapel, by some means or other, was completed, and was ready for its dedication on St. Francis's Day (July 16) The Friars did great service to the town by giving it for the first time a water supply, apart from that which came from the wells (often dangerously tainted) within the walls. In 1290 they acquired the 'conduit-head' in Hill Lane, whence they brought the water in leaden pipes to the 'water-house' (built 1292) in Goswell Lane, from whence it was conveyed to their church in the town.

3. The Quarrels of Southampton with its Neighbours

The thirteenth century, which witnessed so notable an increase in the power of the Church, saw also an equally remarkable development in the wealth and independence of the boroughs of England. They secured charters from their lords; they made their influence felt on the side of Simon de Montfort in the Civil War; they began—first in 1265, regularly from 1295—to send representatives to Parliament. This development was, however, by no means wholly peaceful. The towns were struggling, not altogether for freedom, but each one on its own account for privilege; and their efforts brought them into bitter rivalry one with another. It will not be without profit to note—although it is impossible to spare space for details—some of the quarrels which the burgesses of Southampton had upon their hands about this time. In 1239 there was a quarrel with Portsmouth respecting 'holding pleas and

executing attachments ' ; in 1252 Southampton vindicated its independence of the Cinque Ports of Kent, thus gaining a victory which was to some extent revenged when, in

Fig. 8. Chapel of the Hospital of St. Julien and God's House (Now the French Church)

1321, the men of Winchelsea managed to set fire to and destroy seventeen ships in Southampton Harbour ; in 1260 there was a dispute with Bristol concerning the payment of the Southampton tolls ; in 1265 it was the Bishop

of Winchester with whom the burgesses were struggling ; the bishop wanted them to suspend their commerce during the three weeks' continuance of St. Giles's fair, and he got his way ; in 1285 they were at loggerheads with the Abbot of Titchfield in regard to some weirs which he had set up in Southampton Water ; in 1288 they were trying to force the Abbot of Netley to pay tolls for the use of their market, which he successfully refused to do ; in 1324 they had a great conflict with the burgesses of Lymington over the matter of Admiralty jurisdiction ; they finally established their maritime rights over the Lymington port, and secured from their opponents £200 damages ; in 1328 a dispute with Salisbury concerning tolls and customs was settled by a compromise. These instances, out of the many which might be given, are sufficient to give us a picture of a close and compact body of Southampton burgesses, who at great expense purchased chartered privileges from successive kings, and who in defence of them waged determined war against all—whether bishops, or abbots, or nobles, or rival towns—who sought to molest them in the enjoyment of their rights. It was municipal privilege which became the corner-stone of English liberty.

4. The Outbreak of the Hundred Years' War

Not only, however, did the burgesses have to defend their chartered privileges against the encroachments of jealous neighbours ; they had also the much more onerous task and responsible duty of guarding their walls from foreign attack, and holding one of the gates of England against invaders.

In 1337 the old enmity of England and France deepened into open war—a war destined to last, with intervals of uneasy truce, for over one hundred years, to the incalculable injury of both countries. The causes which provoked the English under Edward III to fight were (1) the help given by Philip VI of France to the Scottish enemies of England ; (2) his efforts to secure Edward's province of Guienne; and (3) his interference with England's wool trade

with Flanders. One of the first incidents of this deplorable war was a French attack upon Southampton. On Sunday, October 4, 1338, as the women of the town were returning home from early mass, the news was brought to them that fifty French galleys, well manned and equipped, were bearing down the Solent towards Southampton. The terrified women lost no time in telling their men-folk of the impending attack, and their men-folk lost no time in running for their lives into the country. Perhaps the report had warned them of what proved to be the case, that the approaching galleys had with them what was then a novel and very unnerving engine of war, viz. a big gun (*pot de fer*). Be that as it may, off they went, leaving the town to its fate, and bringing down upon themselves and their country a disgrace the memory of which it took generations to efface. At nine o'clock in the morning the French landed on the spit of gravel at the south-west angle of the town, and finding scarcely any resistance, they devoted the Sabbath to the gathering of booty, such as they could have hoped to secure only once or twice in a lifetime. They spent the night in the town, and early next morning prepared to re-embark. But they had delayed too long. All through the hours of darkness the men of Hampshire and even some from Sussex had been mustering, and hastening with breathless rage towards Southampton. Before the invaders could get aboard their ships they were attacked with a fury that knew no mercy. Three hundred of the French were slain, among them the leader of the expedition, the son of the Norman King of Sicily. But almost irreparable damage had been done to the town ; the departing enemy had set fire to it in five places, and before the fires were extinguished, nearly the whole of the place was in ashes. The work of rebuilding and refortifying was speedily commenced, aided by large contributions from the king. The outer portions of the Bargate, the Arcade work on the western shore, and the bulk of the sea wall, belong to the period of the fourteenth century, subsequent to the French attack.

Eight years later (1346–7) the English had their revenge for this humiliating disaster in their victory at Creçy, and

in their capture of Calais. The fleet which conveyed the conquering army from England to France assembled at Southampton in the spring of 1346 : all the great ports of the country sent their contingents of ships and men : Southampton herself provided 21 ships (with 576 men) ; from the Isle of Wight came 13, from Hamble, 11, from Lymington, 9, and from Portsmouth, 5. In the end no less than 1,600 vessels were gathered together. They had to carry across the Channel an army of 32,000 men. Its composition is worthy of note. It was not the feudal levy of earlier times ; it was a body of hired men. Ten thousand were English archers ; 12,000 were pikemen from Wales ; 6,000 came from Ireland armed with the strange and half-barbaric weapons of their clans ; only 4,000 were men at arms. Such was the motley force which went to meet and to overwhelm the chivalry of France, the flower of the knighthood of Christendom. Its triumph at Creçy was more than a victory of England over France ; it was the victory of a nation over a feudal order ; it foreshadowed the overthrow of aristocracy by democracy.

It was on July 14, 1346, that King Edward with the Black Prince, who was then sixteen years old, sailed from Southampton. Creçy was fought on August 26. Next year Calais was captured.

5. The Black Death : 1348–9

Both the triumphs of the English and the disasters of the French were in 1348 brought to a sudden pause by the ravages of the most terrible pestilence which Europe has ever known. Beginning in China during the year 1333, it spread westward along the trade routes, until in 1347 it reached Constantinople ; thence it was carried with appalling rapidity to every corner of the continent. In August, 1348, it made its first appearance in England, and, according to the ' Chronicle ' of Henry Knighton, it was by way of Southampton that it came : the record runs—' Then the grievous plague penetrated the maritime parts through Southampton, and came to Bristol.' This entry suggests that the infection was brought either by merchant ships

Fig. 9. Arcade-Work, Southampton Walls

from the Levant, or in troop ships returning from Normandy. Apparently, however, it did not ravage Hampshire that autumn. For Bishop William de Edyndon of Winchester, towards the end of October, sent a letter round his diocese, in which, while he refers to the devastation wrought by the disease in other parts, and speaks of 'nations deprived of their children in the abyss of an unheard of plague', orders his people to give themselves to fasting and prayer for 'fear lest, which God forbid, the fell disease ravage any part of our city and diocese'. But Hampshire was not destined to escape. Early in 1349 the visitation came. We have no record of the total mortality, but we may suppose that here, as elsewhere throughout England, nearly half the population perished. Certainly some two hundred clergy died. In Southampton, for example, the church of Holyrood had three vicars that year; Adam de Sunnynges died in April, Henry de Chippenham in September, and then John de Upton was appointed, and he seems to have survived until the next visitation of the plague in 1361.

The Black Death marked a crisis in the social history of England; it was followed by the revolt of the labourers, by the decay of agriculture, and the development of sheep farming, by the spread of the leasehold system of land tenure, and by other revolutionary changes.

6. The Renewal of the War

The fearful ravages of the great plague forced upon both French and English a cessation of war, an interval in which each of the stricken nations could bury its dead and forget the first anguish of its grief. But the interval was not a long one; in 1355 the war was renewed. Southampton once again became a scene of military bustle.

In 1356, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, sailed from this port for Normandy, with a fleet of 48 vessels, carrying 340 men, and large numbers of horses for the war: it was noted as a very remarkable achievement that these vessels discharged their passengers and cargoes, and got back to Southampton in the short space of five days.

In 1377, the first year of the reign of Richard II, Southampton was exposed to another determined attack by the French ; but this time its defence did not depend on the doubtful resources of the burgesses, but was in the hands of that very capable soldier, Sir John de Arundel, who, after a strenuous conflict, beat off the invaders. So highly was his achievement regarded in high quarters, that he was made in consequence of it Lord Marshal of England—an hereditary office still held by his distinguished descendant, the Duke of Norfolk. The gallant Sir John lived but two years to enjoy his honours. In 1379 he sailed from Southampton at the head of an expedition to St. Malo, intended to help England's ally, the Duke of Brittany, against the French king. When his ships got into mid-Channel, a violent storm sprang up from the south-east and drove the fleet towards the dangerous coast of Cornwall. The vessels were soon in extreme peril. In order to lighten them sixty women who were on board—nuns from a plundered Southampton convent it is said—were thrown into the sea. But in spite of this precaution, three of the ships went to the bottom, taking with them Sir John de Arundel and eighty men. The rest of the fleet returned to Southampton.

In 1406 the town was again threatened with attack, this time by a band of French and Spanish adventurers, under a Castilian called Don Piro Nino. They had plundered Poole and other places, and they found themselves in Southampton Water. Their leader, to encourage them—presuming on their ignorance of geography—told them that it was the Thames estuary in which they were sailing, and that the walled town which they saw before them was London. But even so their courage failed them ; the place and its defenders looked too formidable. They withdrew to the easier conquest of Cowes in the Isle of Wight, from which they carried off much booty.

During this period of alarms the castle of Southampton was completely rebuilt of ' squared stone ', and the walls of the town much strengthened.

7. The Revival of Prosperity

We must not suppose that wars and military preparations absorbed the whole of the energies of the people of Southampton during this distressful period. There was a good deal of peaceful development, and there were many events of civil interest. During the fourteenth century the wool trade with Flanders, diligently fostered by Edward III, grew to be very important ; in 1354 Southampton was appointed the port for the exportation of Winchester staples of wool and leather to Ireland. About the same time a direct trade between England and the great commercial cities of Italy began to be opened up ; the galleys of Venice commenced their annual voyages to Southampton, bringing with them the spices, the medicines, the jewels, and the delicate fabrics of the Orient. In 1379 a Genoese merchant proposed to establish a great emporium for eastern goods in Southampton, which he promised to make a market second to none in Western Europe, but the man of Genoa was assassinated by jealous London merchants, and his scheme fell through.

During that same year Parliament, for the first and only time, was summoned to meet at ' Hamptone ' : the French fleet was in the Thames ; it had burned Gravesend, and was threatening London, so that the atmosphere of the capital was not calm enough for debate.

About 1400 permission was given to certain merchants of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, and Aragon to come direct to Southampton for wool, instead of having to go to Calais, the staple town, to purchase it.

8. Henry V at Southampton

When Henry V, in 1413, came to the throne, the languishing but never extinct war with France was fanned into a furious blaze again by Henry's wholly preposterous claim to the French crown. The young English king brought it forward only because he wanted war, partly

in order that he might distract attention from social discontents, partly because the condition of France, which was torn by civil war, seemed to render the country peculiarly easy of conquest.

In the spring of 1415 he began to assemble a vast invading host at Southampton. In the harbour for their transport 1,500 ships were gathered; of these only 24 belonged to the king, the rest were furnished by the ports of the kingdom. For the king's own use there had been specially built at Southampton the year before a 'dromond' which had been christened *La Trinité*, the largest ship afloat, at any rate in English waters, at the time of its construction. Henry himself arrived at Southampton early in July, and he was here or in the neighbourhood—Titchfield and Porchester being his head-quarters—for nearly five weeks. At Winchester he received the French ambassadors, who strove in vain to save their country from invasion. From his 'Chastel de Hantonne au rivage de la mer' he addressed his final letter to the French king prior to his embarkation.

But, when the preparations for the expedition were almost complete, a deadly conspiracy against the king and the kingdom came to light, and the departure of the army had to be delayed until inquiries, trials, and executions had taken place. It appeared that Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton had plotted—bribed by French gold say some chroniclers—to murder Henry, and put upon the throne his cousin, Edmund, Earl of March. The conspirators were hastily tried by a Southampton jury, and were condemned to death: there is a room at the Red Lion Inn in the High Street, which claims to have been the scene of the trial. In accordance with the verdict Sir Thomas Grey was at once taken outside the Bargate and executed. But the other two asserted their privilege—secured to them by Magna Carta—of being tried by their peers. Hence a council of nobles had to be assembled. It met three days later, under the presidency of the Duke of Clarence, and confirmed the verdict of the jury. Then Cambridge and Scrope suffered the penalty of their treason. The earl

was buried in the church of God's House, now the French Church, where a tablet commemorates the event.

Immediately afterwards (August 7) Henry left Porchester Castle, and went on board *La Trinité*, which lay at the mouth of the Hamble river ; on August 11 the fleet sailed from Southampton Water for the estuary of the Seine. Before the end of the year Harfleur had been captured and Agincourt won.

Next year, 1416, was a period of great excitement and anxiety in Southampton and South Hampshire generally. The French fleet lay in force at Spithead, bent on destroying Henry's great ships which were in Southampton Water. Portsmouth was blockaded in July ; the Isle of Wight was attacked ; the Isle of Portland ravaged. King Henry himself was at Southampton for about a month safeguarding the fleet, and providing for the relief of Portsmouth. On July 22 it was resolved to bring the French to action. The Duke of Bedford, Henry's younger brother, was placed in command of the English ships. He sailed out and gave battle, captured eight of the enemy's vessels, drove one ashore, and forced another up Southampton Water, where in sight of the town it was sent to the bottom, with all its 800 men.

In 1417 Henry V was again here, gathering men and ships for an invasion of Normandy. The armament which he got together on this occasion is said to have been the largest which had ever left England for foreign warfare. In order to pay for its equipment the king borrowed £14,000 from his uncle, Bishop Beaufort of Winchester, on the security of the customs of the port of Southampton. On July 23 Henry went aboard his ship, whose sails were made of purple silk, richly emblazoned with the royal arms of England and France.

The great warrior king—the monarch who appeared to Shakespeare to be the perfect model of knightly virtue—never saw Southampton again. In 1422, in the midst of his victorious career, he was carried away by pestilence.

9. The Loss of the French Possessions

Henry V's conquest of France, brilliant though it had appeared to be, was from the first unsubstantial, and it was destined to be very transient. Its momentary success had been due to the civil war which was raging between the Orleanist and Burgundian factions, and as soon as the French became reunited the English dominion in their country vanished away.

As Southampton had been closely connected with the triumphs of Henry V, so was it associated with the disasters and humiliations of Henry VI. In 1429, when the English were forced by Joan of Arc to raise the siege of Orleans, Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, set out with 4,000 troops from Southampton to Calais to join the Duke of Burgundy, who was then England's ally. In 1432 a French fleet threatened the town: we have an account of how Winchester and Salisbury sent men to reinforce the garrison, how scouts rode off to Portsmouth and to Lepe (near Lymington) to gather news of the enemy's approach, how the gunners set to work to make their powder, and to furbish their guns, how the brewers set their barrels running at the Bargate, how the candle-makers supplied lights for God's House tower and the bulwark, and how there was generally the busiest activity in the place. After all, however, the French never came.

In 1445 Henry VI's unpopular bride-elect, Margaret of Anjou, was lodged for four days, on her arrival in England, at God's House in Southampton, and there, on April 14, she first saw the king, to whom a week later she was married at Titchfield Abbey. This marriage involved the surrender by the English of their conquests in Anjou and Maine, which unwelcome sacrifice was supposed to be a prelude to the conclusion of a lasting peace (then most urgently necessary to England) which should leave Henry VI in guaranteed possession of Normandy and Guienne. No such happy result, however, flowed from it. The French king, to whose side the Duke of Burgundy had reverted, pressed his advantage, and in 1449 Normandy was re-conquered. It was at Southampton

that the defeated English commander, the Duke of Somerset, landed. After that great loss, only the province of Guienne—which had been in English hands for three hundred years—was left of all the French dominions once ruled by Henry V. In four years that, too, had been conquered by the French : the capture of Bordeaux in 1451, and the defeat of the great English captain, Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, at Châtillon in 1453, sealed the fate of the English rule in France. The town of Calais alone was left as a relic of former power. Talbot himself fell in the epoch-making battle of Châtillon, and his body was brought to Southampton on its way to burial at the Shropshire home of the Talbot family. The coming has been celebrated in verse :

' Master Mayor of Hamptun Town
Toll your bells in every tower
Let the crimson cross go down
Now is England's passing hour ;
Let the golden leopards fall—
Fallen low is England's crown ;
Bid them strike the topsails tall,
Master Mayor of Hamptun town '.

10. The Wars of the Roses

Scarcely were the horrors of the French war over than the country was involved in a civil conflict, a struggle between two rival branches of the royal house, the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York.

The Wars of the Roses grew out of an old quarrel between Cardinal Beaufort and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and with this quarrel Southampton had been very closely connected. The Duke of Gloucester had been warden of Southampton Castle and lord of the New Forest ; while the cardinal had been mortgagee of the customs of Southampton, and had had an army of officials in the town. The duke accused the cardinal of using his control of the port to carry on an unlawful trade in wool and other merchandise. But a more serious cause of difference between them had, of course, been the matter

of foreign policy and the conduct of the French war: Beaufort advocated conciliation and peace, Gloucester uncompromising war. After the deaths of the two rivals in 1447, the leadership of the peace party passed into the hands of the Lancastrian Duke of Suffolk, while that of the war party was taken up by the Duke of York, whose hereditary title to the crown was superior to that of the king himself. The struggle respecting policy with Suffolk and his successor Somerset rapidly developed into a struggle with Henry VI for the throne.

The thirty years' conflict which ensued (1455–85) touched Southampton on several occasions. In 1460, when things were going very badly for Henry VI, the Lancastrian Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Wiltshire, came to the port, took forcible possession of five Genoese vessels which he found here, filled them with provisions, for which he did not pay, and escaped in them to Holland, whence he thoughtfully sent the ships back. Ten years later, in 1470, when the Yorkist Edward IV was on the throne, a troublesome enemy of his was captured in Southampton. This was Thomas Neville, natural son of Lord Falconbridge, and a near relative of Warwick the king-maker, who was then in rebellion. Neville had been a vice-admiral of England under Warwick when the latter had been governor of Calais. On Warwick's revolt, Neville found himself in command of some ships whose crews were ready to follow him on desperate and piratical adventure. He began boldly by attacking London, but he was of course beaten. Then, drifting into despondency, he sailed round the coast till he reached Southampton, where he made no effort to resist seizure and execution. Later on in the same year (1470) the rebel Earl of Warwick was himself in Southampton Water with a fleet. He had come to cut out a large vessel called *La Trinité* (perhaps the very ship which Henry V had built), which he claimed as his own. The ship was, however, effectively defended by Lord Scales (afterwards Earl Rivers), the brother of Edward IV's queen, who took several of Warwick's ships and a score of his men. On news of this affray Edward IV himself came down to Southampton, and on his departure

he left Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, to punish the captive rebels. They were hanged, drawn, beheaded, and quartered, their heads and their dismembered bodies being then fixed on stakes and exposed to the view of the townsfolk for a period of three weeks—an exhibition of barbarism at which, we are told, 'the people of the lande were gretely displesyd,' so that 'ever afterwarde the Erle of Worcestre was gretely behatede emonge the peple'.

Next year (1471), on April 14, the Earl of Warwick ended his career and his life on the field of Barnet. On that very day his countess arrived at Southampton from Porstmouth, intending to proceed to Weymouth, where Margaret of Anjou had landed in force. The unhappy lady, however, while still here, learned the heavy tidings of her husband's defeat and death. Accordingly, in grief and despair, she changed her plans, and, says the Chronicler, 'secretly gat ovar Hampton Watar into the new forreste, where she tooke her to the fraunches of an abbey called Beawlew.' Soon afterwards, Margaret of Anjou was overtaken and overwhelmed at Tewkesbury, and Edward IV henceforward possessed his throne in peace.

With the renewal of the war in Richard III's reign, and with the events which led to the concluding battle of Bosworth (1485), Southampton had nothing to do.

11. Southampton at the End of the Middle Ages

Such glimpses of the town as we can get from the records of the fifteenth century give us an impression of considerable prosperity. The fleets of merchantmen from Venice were coming here year by year; the wool trade with Flanders flourished; the wine trade with Gascony was, at any rate till 1483, considerable. In 1485 the customs of the port yielded to the king £5,478, a sum far larger than that which came from any other port save London (from which £13,000 was obtained).

During the course of the century two of the most important charters of the borough were secured. In 1445 the town was incorporated; in 1447 it was raised to the rank of a county, with a sheriff of its own.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TUDOR DICTATORSHIP : A. D. 1485–1603

1. The Dawn of the Modern Era

The close of the fifteenth century saw a marvellous change pass over the face of Western Europe. In some strange and mysterious, yet wholly unmistakeable, manner the darkness of the Middle Ages passed away, and the day of the modern era dawned. The Holy Roman Empire of united Christendom became a mere name ; the political supremacy of the Papacy passed away ; the western nations—England, France, and Spain—attained to internal unity, and began to struggle with one another for dominance. Strong monarchies rose out of the ruins of feudalism. The use of firearms revolutionized warfare, and brought the ascendancy of the mailclad mediaeval knighthood to an end. The astronomical revelations of Copernicus opened up the universe to man ; the geographical discoveries of Columbus and Vasco da Gama revealed to him a new earth. The invention of printing diffused knowledge, while the advent of Greek scholars to Italy and Germany restored to the western world the priceless treasures of the ancient Hellenic literature. Science began to claim the realms of secular learning which had long been held by Faith, and the human reason, impatient of restraint, began to prepare for the great religious revolt known as the Reformation. No preceding period of which we have any record had seen anything like so complete and general a revolution ; no subsequent age saw its equal until the great period of discovery and invention which marked the nineteenth century was inaugurated.

2. Southampton in Decline

Though the change which characterized this great period of transition from mediaeval to modern times on the whole immensely increased the importance and the wealth of England, yet their immediate effect on Southampton was distinctly injurious. The town declined both as a fortress and as a mart. During the later Middle Ages, as we have seen, Southampton had been, on the one hand, one of the chief bulwarks of England against French invasion, and on the other hand, one of the main mustering-places of the expeditions which in such large numbers left England on French conquest bent. The new age saw a complete revolution in English foreign politics. The Tudor monarchs by degrees abandoned all their predecessors' dreams of securing crowns and dominions on the other side of the Channel, and gradually settled down to an alliance with France against the overmastering power of Spain. The scene of conflict, moreover, was shifted. English seamen and adventurers carried the struggle into the regions of the Azores, the West Indies, and the islands of the South Pacific. The tide of war left Southampton Water—to return once only in the great year 1588—and the walls of the ancient borough, though long and laboriously maintained, became really no more than antiquarian relics. The castle fell into decay, and by the end of the Tudor period was a ruin.

Commerce, also, left its former channels. The opening up of the Cape route to India was an irreparable blow to Venice ; the visits of the Venetian fleet to Southampton became fitful and irregular, and in 1532 ceased altogether. Then, again, English commercial policy changed. The export of wool, in which Southampton had been so greatly concerned, was first discouraged, then positively prohibited ; the wool was to be kept in England and manufactured into cloth in this country ; native industry was to be fostered. Thus both in her import trade and in her export trade Southampton was hard hit.

A statute of 1495, dealing with the fishing and navigation of Southampton Water, spoke of the town as ' now lately greatly decayed '. In 1530 the burgesses petitioned

Henry VIII for a reduction of their fee-farm rent, because of the falling-off of their trade, and the king lowered it by 40 marks a year. Notwithstanding this reduction, the payments of the burgesses fell hopelessly into arrears, and by 1549 no less a sum than £1,844 was owing to the exchequer. The Government excused all but £800 of this heavy debt, and then, three years later, permanently reduced the sum demanded annually from the £200 originally promised to King John, to £50. All this is eloquent of poverty and adversity.

3. Wars and Rumours of Wars

Although, as we have seen, the tendency of Tudor foreign policy steadily developed toward friendship with France and enmity to Spain, yet the old hatred of France was long in dying out, and during the early part of the period England did her best to strike an alliance with the new and great peninsular monarchy. In 1489 English ambassadors started from Southampton for the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1499, Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, addressed from Southampton a letter to the Spanish king, recommending to his favourable notice an Englishman who wished to serve under him against the infidels. In 1501, after the long-negotiated marriage of Prince Arthur of England to Catherine of Aragon had been arranged, the Spanish princess was expected to arrive at Southampton ; elaborate preparations were made, and during all September she was looked for ; but when, after many delays, she at length set out from Spain, she had so stormy a voyage, that she was fain to dispense with the ceremonial so dear to the Spanish heart, and to land where first she could ; thus it happened that Plymouth and not Southampton can claim the mournful honour of having been the first English town to receive that unhappy and much-wronged queen.

The reason why the negotiations which culminated in the marriage of Arthur and Catherine had been so long protracted, was that the astute Spanish king, Ferdinand, felt by no means sure that Henry VII of England was

firmly seated on his throne. Not only was there in the Tower of London a young man, the Earl of Warwick, whose hereditary claim to the crown was stronger than the king's, but there was also for several years, roving the world at large, another claimant, professing to be Richard of York, one of the sons of Edward IV, who had so mysteriously disappeared in 1483. Henry VII said that this self-styled Richard of York was merely an Irish adventurer named Perkin Warbeck ; but Margaret of Burgundy (Edward IV's sister) recognized him as her nephew, and the kings of France and Scotland received him with princely honours. Ferdinand of Spain could not venture to ally himself by the close tie of inter-marriage with a monarch who had such serious and dangerous rivals. Fortune, however, favoured Henry. Perkin Warbeck fell into his hands. He landed in Cornwall, hoping to take advantage of a rebellion which had broken out there. With a small band of followers he marched towards London. But by the time he reached Hampshire he saw that he was doomed to fail. Hence, leaving his men to shift for themselves, he fled to sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey. Henry VII persuaded him to surrender by a promise of mercy, and he went to join the Earl of Warwick in the Tower. If we can put trust in a record left by the old historian of Southampton, Dr. Speed, this town had some share in securing Perkin's surrender. Dr. Speed says that an ancient register shows that Henry VII sent £40 to John Godfrey, mayor of Southampton, as a reward for taking Perkin Warbeck. This is very mysterious, and the ' register ' can no longer be found. Henry VII did not as a rule pay away money for nothing ; and *if* he did send John Godfrey £40, we may be sure that it was in return for some notable service. After the capture of Perkin, Henry was for a second time helped by fate. The two captives—Perkin and Warwick—plotted to escape from the Tower ; probably the king himself provided them with the facilities which made the plot possible. Their plan was of course discovered, and they were both executed. Ferdinand was then satisfied, and accordingly, as we have seen, his daughter Catherine came to England in 1501.

The alliance thus struck with Ferdinand by Henry VII led Henry VIII, soon after his accession, into a war with Ferdinand's enemy, the king of France. From Southampton, in 1512, the Marquis of Dorset took 10,000 troops in many ships to Spain, to help Ferdinand in his campaigns on his northern frontier. There was some hope that they might eventually cross the Pyrenees, and, with Spanish help, recover Gascony for the English crown, but that hope was never realized.

In 1516 Ferdinand died, and his dominions passed to his grandson, Charles, who within a few years became by inheritance, from four distinct sources, ruler of Spain, Austria, the Netherlands, and other important regions, including the newly-discovered lands beyond the Western Seas. In 1519 he was elected emperor, whence he is usually known in history as the Emperor Charles V. One of the leading features of his long and eventful reign was his keen struggle with Francis I, the French king, for dominance in Italy. To each of these two rivals the friendship of England was of high importance. The King of France tried to win Henry by the magnificence of the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520); but Henry at that time inclined to the side of Spain, and in 1522 the emperor was invited to England. He came, and was met at Winchester by Henry, and there the terms of co-operation against the French were arranged. Fresh from his interview, he journeyed down to Southampton, in whose harbour his fleet of 180 vessels awaited him. We learn from the account-book of the Southampton steward that 'the town yattes' (i.e. gates) at the end of June were dressed 'ageynst the commynge of the Emprower'. It was on July 1 that he arrived, but, owing to unfavourable winds, it was not till the 6th of the month that he could embark. Then, escorted by the Earl of Surrey, whom he had created an admiral of his fleet, he sailed away to his own land. The Earl of Surrey, on his return voyage from Biscay, justified his new appointment, and displayed to the world the reality of the Anglo-imperial alliance by attacking the French town of Morlaix.

4. The Survey of Leland

John Leland was a learned clergyman of Henry VIII's time. He became chaplain to the king and royal librarian; finally in 1533 he received the curious and unprecedented appointment of 'antiquary to the king'. In this capacity he was commissioned to make search for the relics of ancient times in England and to preserve the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, colleges, and other places where 'records and the secrets of antiquity were deposited'. He spent the next six or seven years in travelling through England and Wales noting everything that seemed memorable. Among the places he visited was Southampton. The following are some of the points that he put on record:

(*a*) *The Gates*: 'There be yn the fair and right strong waulle of New Hampton these gates; (1) fyrst, Barre Gate, by north, large and welle embatelid, in the upper part of thys gate is *Domus Civica* and underneath is the town prison; (2) the Est Gate is stronge, but nothing so large as the Barre Gate; (3) the South Gate stondith not even ful south, but south-east, and there is joynid to it a castelet welle ordinaunced to bete that quarter of the haven; (4) there is another meane gate a little more to the south caullid Goddeshouse Gate of an hospitale joinid to it; (5) and not far beyond it is a fair gate caulled the Water Gate, without the wich is a faire square key (quay); (6) the West Gate is stronge, and even without it is a large key for shippes as there is without the Water Gate; (7–8) there be two gates beside, whereof one is as a postern and the other is by the castelle.'

(*b*) *The Castle*: 'The glorie of the castelle is yn the dungeon (keep) that is both larg, fair, and very stronge, both by worke and the site of it.'

(*c*) *The Churches*: 'There be five paroche chirches withyn the toun of Hampton: the Holie Roode chirch stondith yn the chief strete of the toun' which is 'one of the fairest streates that ys yn any toun of al England'.

(*d*) *The Houses*: 'There be many fair merchauntes houses in Hampton, but the chefest is the house that Huttoft, late Custumer of Hampton, builded in the west side of

the toun; the house that Master Lightster (Lyster), chief baron of the kinges escheker, dwellith yn is very fair; the house that Master Mylles, the recorder, dwelleth yn is fair; and so be the houses of Nicoline and Guidote, Italianes.'

Such are some of the items of Leland's description. It will be noted that the gate which we now call God's House Gate was not in Leland's day called by that name, but that there was another small gate near the bottom of the High

Fig. 10. Tudor House

Street, close to the Water Gate, to which the name was then, and more properly, applied. The house of Henry Huttoft, the king's collector of customs, was almost certainly the present 'Tudor House' in St. Michael's Square.

5. The Reformation

When Leland visited Southampton all England was in the midst of that great religious upheaval known as the Reformation. He makes no mention of it; it was no business of his, although he was a clergyman; he was the king's antiquary, employed by his sovereign to

describe the things of the past, not to meddle with the controversies of the present.

In 1525 the alliance between Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V had come to an end; in 1527 an alliance with Francis I of France had taken its place. For that, and for other reasons, Henry had become anxious to get rid of his Spanish wife—the aunt of the emperor and devoted to his cause—Catherine of Aragon. But in vain had he sought from the pope a declaration of the nullity of his marriage, and at last, in 1533, tired of waiting, he had repudiated the authority of the pope, and thrown down the gauntlet of defiance by casting Catherine off and marrying Anne Boleyn. Soon after (1535) he completed the severance of the English Church from the Roman communion by getting his obedient parliament to pass the famous Act of Supremacy. That led to open war with Rome, and one of Henry's earliest moves was to attack those strongholds of papal power, the religious houses. The religious houses of the neighbourhood of Southampton did not escape the common ruin which fell upon all the abbeys and monasteries of England. One of the first to be destroyed was Netley, which was suppressed in 1536; its site, together with the manor of Hound, was granted to Sir William Paulet, afterwards created Marquis of Winchester; some of the materials of the abbey were used in 1540 in the building of Netley Castle, intended for the protection of Southampton from attack. The priory of St. Denys fell at the same time (1536); its site, together with the manor of Portswood, was granted in 1538 to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Dawtrey. On Oct. 6 that same year (1538) the Southampton Friary was surrendered by its inmates to the king's visitor: in the deed it is said that this surrender was made entirely voluntarily 'without any manner of coaccyon or counsell', but we know how far to believe that statement. The Friary was evidently a small, poor house; there were only six inmates at the time of the dissolution; the house was estimated to be worth but £5, and its contents, after various expenses had been paid, realised no more than thirty-two shillings. In 1539 the

great abbey of Beaulieu was dissolved; the rich and extensive property of this important house was secured by Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards Earl of Southampton, to whom also the abbey of Titchfield was assigned. In the borough of Southampton the earl was the owner of Bugle Hall, an important town house which stood at the corner where Bugle Street and West Gate Street meet.

The dissolution of the priory of St. Denys made considerable change in the patronage of the four churches within the walls of Southampton; for since the days of Henry II the priory had held the advowsons of all of them. The king took and kept the right to present to the rectory of St. Lawrence and the vicarage of St. Michael; the Bishop of Winchester was made patron of the rectory of All Saints; while the vicarage of Holyrood passed (no doubt by purchase) into the hands of a prominent Southampton burgess, John Caplin by name.

The Reformation in Henry VIII's reign was political rather than religious in its character; it involved great changes in the government and administration of the Church of England, but it did not attempt very seriously to modify either ritual or doctrine. Henry VIII struck out for himself a middle course between Catholicism and Protestantism; the Church under his headship was on the one hand to be independent of the pope, yet on the other hand was to be wholly free from Lutheran heresy. Neither of Henry's immediate successors, however, cherished the same ideal: Edward VI wished to make the Church wholly Protestant; Mary ardently longed to re-unite it to Rome. The accomplishment of Edward's purpose was frustrated by his sickness and early death. In 1552, when he had reigned but five years and was only fifteen years of age, his health showed signs of rapid decline. It was decided that he should make a tour through the country in the hope that change of air and scene would do him good. On this tour he visited Southampton, bringing with him 320 soldiers and 4,000 mounted attendants. We have in the young king's own hand an impression of his visit. He wrote to his friend Barnaby Fitzpatric as follows: 'The citizens had bestowed for

our coming great cost in repairing and rampairing their walls. The towne is handsome and for the bigness of it [has] as faire houses as be at London. The citizens made great cheer and many of them kept costly tables.' Alas! neither the 'great cheer' of the Southampton burgesses, nor the salubrious airs of their town, sufficed to stay the progress of Edward's fatal malady, and next year he died. The death of Edward and the accession of Mary wrought a revolution in Church affairs. Mary was bent on the complete reversal of her father's policy, and as one of the first steps to the carrying out of her design she arranged to marry Philip of Spain, son and heir of the Emperor Charles V, who was the recognized head of the Catholic potentates of Europe. On Thursday, July 19, 1554, Philip entered Southampton Water, escorted by 140 vessels, and accompanied by a man destined afterwards to attain a dreadful celebrity, Ferdinand de Toledo, Duke of Alva, pacifier of the Netherlands. On the afternoon of the 20th the Spaniards landed. They were received by certain nobles sent by the queen and by the mayor and his brethren, who had been for seven weeks making ready for their coming. The ungracious behaviour of Philip created a very bad impression on the Southampton folk: he did not raise his cap; he drew his sword on landing and kept it drawn; he took the keys of the town from the hands of the mayor without a word or a smile. From the quay he rode—on a richly caparisoned horse sent for him by the queen—to Holyrood Church to give thanks for his safe arrival. He stayed in Southampton over the Sunday, lodging in a house near the Water Gate. On the Saturday Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, came to greet him. On the Sunday, after Mass, he attended a public dinner accompanied by his train of Spanish and English lords: during the repast he made a Latin speech, the burden of which was the excellence of the Hampton ale. On the Monday (July 23) he rode on horseback, through a drenching rain, to Winchester, where two days later he was married to the queen. It was this wedding which established in England the fashion—that still firmly maintains itself—of symbo-

lizing the sealing of the marriage contract by means of a plain gold ring : at Mary's wedding the use of the plain gold ring caused some astonishment and scandal.

The hopes which Mary had based on this Spanish marriage proved to be vain. No child was born to continue the succession ; Philip became cold and neglectful ; the country was dragged into a needless and unfortunate war with France ; while the efforts of Mary to burn out Protestantism sufficed only to kindle throughout England a fiery hatred of Rome and Spain. On Nov. 17, 1558, the unhappy daughter of Catherine of Aragon, lonely and disappointed, passed away, and the crown descended to her half-sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Catherine's supplanter, Anne Boleyn. In a few months Mary's life-work was undone, and the Reformation settlement of Henry VIII in substance restored.

6. The Visits of Elizabeth

Queen Elizabeth was on at least three occasions a visitor at Southampton. At the beginning of her reign, on Aug. 13, 1560, she rode in from Netley, where she was staying as guest of the Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector Somerset of Edward VI's time : the earl was in 1560 high in Elizabeth's favour, but the very next year he incurred the relentless queen's most extreme displeasure by secretly marrying Lady Catherine Grey, sister of the unlucky Lady Jane Grey and inheritor of her claims to the royal succession ; he was sent to prison for nine years and fined £15,000. Just about the time of Hertford's release, viz. in 1569, Elizabeth was in Southampton again, though Netley Castle was not her head-quarters on this occasion. She had been visiting the Earl of Southampton at Titchfield, and she paused at Southampton on her way to the Marquis of Winchester's stately home at Basing. We have among the national records a writ relating to the affairs of Coventry signed by Elizabeth on September 8 'at our tower of Southampton'. The third visit of Elizabeth was a more formal and impressive affair. In 1591 the queen came here with all her court, and here

she stopped for no less than four days (Sept. 4–7). She was met at the Bargate by the mayor and corporation, who presented her with a gorgeous purse containing £40, which she was graciously pleased to accept. During her stay she was royally entertained at a cost to the town of £98. To commemorate this visit a picture representing the queen's arrival was painted and placed over the Bargate; there it remained for half-a-century, i.e. until 1642, when, at the beginning of the Civil War, it was pulled down by the Puritan governor of the town, Major Murford (of whom more anon) on the ground that the queen had brought all the troubles of the war upon the nation because she had failed to make the Reformation a thorough one. The subsequent history of this picture is not known; but there can be little doubt that the painting is the very one (now in Trafalgar Lodge, Shirley) which Mr. Vaughan Cotten, the owner, generously lent to the Antiquarian Exhibition held in the Hartley College in 1904.

7. The Spanish Armada

When Elizabeth visited Southampton in 1591 the country was still rejoicing at deliverance from a great peril which three years before had threatened the national independence and religion.

Ever since her accession in 1558, Elizabeth had had to dread and to guard against the hostility of the pope and the king of Spain. Fortunately for the English queen, during the early period of her reign, both her enemies had been so much occupied in other directions that they had been unable to declare open war upon her. The pope had had to contend against the rapid spread of Protestantism in all the countries of Europe, even in Italy and in the city of Rome itself. Philip of Spain had been absorbed in a fierce struggle with France and in efforts to put down a great revolt in the Netherlands. Elizabeth had looked with keen interest upon these continental conflicts, but she had carefully kept aloof from them, husbanding her strength against the day when her turn to fight for life and freedom should come. When secretly and safely she

could give help to or show sympathy with the enemies of Rome and Spain she did so. For instance, in 1567 she received graciously and favourably a petition from a body of Walloon Protestants who had fled from Alva's persecution to England; she allowed them to settle in Southampton and assigned to them as a place of worship the chapel of the hospital of God's House, in which accordingly

Fig. 11. Tudor Treasure Chest at present in the Norman House

from that day to this a French Protestant service has regularly been held.

In 1570 the pope threw down the challenge to battle by issuing a bull depriving Elizabeth of her 'pretended' right to the crown and absolving her subjects from their allegiance. This papal act caused the greatest irritation and alarm in England, and it further placed the English Catholics, who were as loyal as they were devout, in the cruelly difficult position of having to appear false either to their country or their church. Severe 'recusancy laws'

began to be passed and enforced by the Government. One of the leading local sufferers, a Catholic who was condemned to pay heavy fines for refusal to attend his parish church, was Sir Edward Banister of Banister Court. The struggle openly begun by the pope in 1570 led first to a series of plots in England against Elizabeth, secondly to an insurrection in Ireland against the English authority, thirdly to the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and finally to war with Spain.

In 1588 all England rang with the news that the Spanish Armada was preparing to land an invading force on English shores. To oppose the 132 great ships of Spain, Elizabeth herself in her royal navy had but thirty-eight vessels, and of these only thirteen were of over 400 tons' burden. She therefore addressed letters to all the ports of the kingdom bidding them send ships and men to join in defence of the realm. To Southampton came a letter (still preserved in the Audit House) dated April 1, from Greenwich, demanding 'two serviceable and good shippes' of not less than 60 tons' burden, together with one pinnace, all of them to be duly manned, victualled, and furnished with munitions and necessaries for two months' service. If we imagine that Southampton responded with enthusiastic alacrity to this appeal, we delude ourselves. The mayor was too familiar with similar demands from the Tudor monarchs to feel any new keen joy at the receipt of another. He wrote to say that the town was unable by reason of poverty 'to beare the charge requyred at their handes for the preparing and setting out of twoe shippes and a pynnaise'. On April 19 Sir Francis Walsingham wrote acknowledging the receipt of this communication, and there it would appear the matter ended. If that was so, it would seem that Southampton ships were not among those who from July 19 to July 29 pursued the Spaniards up the Channel and at length bore down upon them off Gravelines and drove them in hopeless ruin towards the north. Be that as it may, however, we have the evidence of the borough accounts that very large sums of money were spent that year in repairing the walls and providing gunpowder for the defence of the town against a possible attack.

8. Puritanism and Democracy

The defeat of the Spanish Armada marks an era in the history of England. On the one hand, Protestantism was established as the religion of the country; on the other hand, the peril of invasion ceased to be serious. Englishmen were thus able to turn their attention from foreign affairs and problems of national defence, which had so long absorbed their thought and care, and to begin to pay heed to pressing questions of Church and State at home. For exactly a hundred years (1588–1688) what are called 'domestic affairs' held the first place in the minds of the leading people of England. Within the Church a strong movement towards Puritanism manifested itself, and maintained itself in spite of the vigorous opposition of the queen and many of the bishops. In Parliament much greater freedom of debate began to be claimed and Elizabeth found it a good deal harder to manage and control the House of Commons than she had at the commencement of her reign.

In Southampton the closing years of Elizabeth's reign were not very eventful. We have already noted how in 1591 the queen paid a formal state visit lasting four days. In 1601 she gave to the town the valuable set of standard measures which are still to be seen in the Audit House, and about the same time confirmed to the borough the right to hold its annual fairs. We gather that Southampton was still struggling with poverty and adversity. In 1588 there were but sixty-two ships belonging to the port and of these only eight were of 100 tons and over. In 1596 the total population of the borough was returned as about 4,200, of whom less than 600 lived without the walls. There was at the time a considerable trade in sweet wines, while the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland were beginning to give a good deal of employment to the mariners of the town. The export of wool had practically ceased, but in its place had sprung up an industry which for a time was important and lucrative, the manufacture of 'Hampton serges'.

CHAPTER IX

KING AND PARLIAMENT: A. D. 1603–88

1. The Accession of the Stuarts

On March 24, 1603, Queen Elizabeth 'of glorious memory' passed away. Ever since she had come to the throne, forty-five years before, the country had been troubled about the question of the succession; for Elizabeth was the last of her line, and the nation dreaded a conflict for the crown which would bring again upon the land the horrors of the Wars of the Roses. Elizabeth, however, continually postponed the settlement of the problem; partly for reasons of state, because she did not wish finally to dash the hopes of any great political or religious party and so drive it to revolt; partly for personal reasons, because she disliked the contemplation of her own demise. Not until she was on her deathbed (and even then very doubtfully) did she give the long-desired indication of her will, and intimate that she wished James VI of Scotland to take the sceptre which she was about, with extreme reluctance, to lay down. The privy council and the parliament had eagerly awaited this expression of the queen's desire, because—though it had no constitutional value—it gave them later the moral support which they needed when they acknowledged James as king in direct contravention of the Succession Act of 1544, and when they passed over the superior statutory claims of Earl Beauchamp (son of the Earl of Hertford whom Elizabeth had visited at Netley Castle in 1560). The peaceful accession of the Scottish king afforded immense relief and satisfaction to the country. Everywhere James was proclaimed with enthusiasm, and everywhere, when he came to England, was he received with joy. The general feeling of the nation was shared by Southampton. The proclama-

tion took place on May 27, and the town-clerk who made it—John Friar by name—recorded in the *Journal* of the borough that he uttered the announcement ' with the greatest exaltation of voice ' of which he was capable, and with his ' heart's joy and comfort '. Six months later James himself came to the town accompanied by his queen, Anne of Denmark, and by his whole court. He was cordially welcomed ; the loyal town-clerk presented an address which after recounting the king's noble acts ended with the words : ' But . . . the majesty of your royal presence astonishing me, I am forced suddenly to break off my speech with this most humble prayer to God, that He will long preserve your sacred Majesty in your reign over us, if it be His holy wish, to double the happy years of our late queen.' It is notable that one of the things which the town-clerk specially mentioned in his address as a source of peculiar advantage to the town was the king's ' taking away diverse monopolies ' ; for this, he said, was bringing back foreign commerce to the port, and was likely to enable the burgesses ' to wade out of their poverty, and by honest traffic . . . to grow in short time into wealth '. Four years later (1607) James renewed the town's charter.

2. The Growth of Disaffection

The pleasure and satisfaction with which, in 1603, James VI of Scotland was greeted as James I of England speedily gave way to murmuring and discontent. The king would not observe, or admit himself to be bound to observe, the law of the land ; he quarrelled with his parliament, whose freedom of speech he resented and tried to restrict ; he lived extravagantly, and made unheard of demands for money ; he refused the petitions of the growing Puritan party for further reforms in the Church.

The town of Southampton was not unaffected by the king's arbitrary acts. In 1609, at the beginning of August, the court was at Beaulieu. From the palace of the Earl of Southampton the king sent an order to the mayor of this borough, bidding him supply twenty-four

fully armed and equipped men to serve as royal bodyguard for three days (August 5–7). This no doubt was an honour—but it was also an infringement of the town's privileges, which exempted the burgesses of Southampton from service beyond the limits of their own boundaries : it was an attempt to impose upon them a burden which properly belonged to the county of Hampshire. Accordingly, instead of sending the men, the mayor, John Longe by name, sent John Friar, the town-clerk, to Beaulieu to ask and to give explanations. At Beaulieu John Friar inquired for Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State (for Sir Thomas was a native of Southampton), and when he found him he stated his case so forcibly that the order was withdrawn and the bodyguard was raised from the county.

In 1618 the king's chronic need of ready money caused him again to do an ill turn to the town. Having allowed the castle to fall into a completely ruinous condition for want of repairs, he sold it off, together with its site and the ditches round it, so that it passed from the nation finally into private hands.

But more serious than James's lawless acts, and more aggravating to the majority of his Commons than even his insatiable demands for money, was his refusal to grant the requests of the Puritans, and his determination not to tolerate dissent. Quite early in the reign some of the more convinced and resolute dissenters (Independents or Separatists as they were called) began to leave the country and seek homes among the Dutch, the Germans, or the Swiss who were of their own way of thinking. One small body of these was destined to become world-famous, and with its fame Southampton is associated. In 1608 a company of dissenters left Scrooby in Nottinghamshire and crossed to Holland, where they finally established themselves at Leyden under their pastor, John Robinson. After twelve years of exile, fearing that they would become absorbed and lost among the Dutch, they asked the English Government that they might be permitted to go to the New World and settle there under the English flag. Having received permission, in 1620 they crossed from Holland to England. After settling their affairs in various

parts of the country, they assembled at Southampton, and remained here nearly a fortnight before all was ready for their memorable voyage. When the preparations were completed they put to sea in the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*. But the latter vessel proved to be unseaworthy, and after a vain attempt to patch her up had been made at Dartmouth, she was abandoned at Plymouth, and the whole of the little company finished their voyage in the *Mayflower*. Longfellow in his *Courtship of Miles Standish*

Fig. 12. The Sailing of the 'Mayflower'
(*From the painting in the Audit House*)

commemorates the connexion of his hero with this port of departure when he makes Priscilla's lover tell us of :

'The beautiful Bertha, the spinner, the Queen of Helvetia,
She whose story I read at a stall in the streets of Southampton.'

3. Maritime Activity

The age which saw the departure of the *Mayflower* from the port of Southampton was one of widespread maritime activity. Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, French, English —all were busy exploring unknown seas, settling in newly discovered lands, opening up fresh regions of commerce.

In the adventures and enterprises of these stirring days the seamen and merchants of Southampton seem to have had their full share. The books of the town for this period teem with stories of peril and achievement. They give us a vivid picture of the heroic age of the expansion of England, and they help us to realize the almost incredible insecurity of ocean navigation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not only were there the inevitable perils of storm and tempest, often faced in vessels so small that we in our day would scarcely trust ourselves on a lake in them, there were also the perils of pirates who literally infested the seas, pirates of all nations—French, Spanish, Dutch, Flemish, Turkish, even English, and (terrible and numerous beyond all others) Algerine. To mention only a few of the cases which came before the Southampton magistrates between the years 1622–43: French pirates captured the *Fisher* of Southampton, near the Needles, in September, 1627, and the *Margaret* of Plymouth, off the Lizard, in October, 1628; Spanish pirates seized the *Steven* of Southampton, in the Bay of Biscay, in November, 1631; a Flemish man-of-war attacked the *Phoenix* of Weymouth, off the coast of Morocco, in the latter part of 1634; Turkish pirates made prize of the *Pearl* of Southampton, off the Canaries, after a stern and exciting struggle, in November, 1640; English men-of-war on two separate occasions in 1627 despoiled the *Hope of Edom*, a vessel sailing on behalf of John Stroude, an English merchant of Rochelle, and carrying a cargo of tobacco, salt, and wine to Londonderry in Ireland, while the same year the unfortunate *Fisher* of Southampton, mentioned above, before her ultimate capture by the French was overhauled by an English warship commanded by Captain Jones of Sandwich.

The following—to give only one example out of scores—is the story of the *Fisher* as told by Gregory Browne, her boatswain, on October 27, 1627: The deponent started from Newfoundland August 23, in the *Fisher* of Southampton, a ship of 80 tons, with 32 persons in his company, having on board all their fishing tackle and 106,000 dry fish and 5,300 wet fish, and 9 tons of trayne (oil). They

were driven into Plymouth by a storm about September 8, and there on September 15 the master, Milles Searchfield, died. On September 20 (Thursday) the master's mate, Henry Norman, started to bring the ship from Plymouth to Southampton. At one o'clock at night they were stopped by an English man-of-war, whose captain was William Jones of Sandwich. The captain, lieutenant, and six or seven men came aboard the *Fisher* demanding firewood. They then proceeded violently to take ' the mizzen sail ' of the vessel, the clothes and linen from the seamen's chests which they broke open, a new sheet-anchor cable, two ' murderers ' and a chamber, eleven muskets and calivers, and a fowling piece, a barrel of powder, and all their musket shot, ' and six pounds of candles, with divers other small things.' Then they let the *Fisher* go, having despoiled her and delayed her three hours. Thence she was driven by an ebb tide some five or six leagues out to sea, and between Portland and the Needles on September 22 she fell in with a French man-of-war of 106 tons, carrying 130 men and 10 guns, whereof one Bally of Sherbrooke (Cherbourg) in Normandy was captain. The *Fisher* and all its stores were made prize. The crew was shipped from France to Alderney in a ship of four tons. Thence they got to Guernsey, where they were picked up and taken to Poole, whence they journeyed to Southampton.

The seamen mentioned in the above record, and in the scores of others like it, are of course wholly unknown, as they were in their day wholly undistinguished, men—members of the vast host of common folk by whom the world's work is carried on from age to age, the toilers by whose forgotten efforts civilization has slowly been advanced and spread, but the memory of whose joys and sorrows, loves, and hates, lives and deaths, has utterly vanished away. Southampton was not, however, without its connexion with men of greater name, and events of wider note. For example, in 1623, Calvert, Lord Baltimore—the man who eleven years later founded the American colony of Maryland—was here in Southampton with his son, fitting out an expedition, which endeavoured (though unsuccessfully) to establish in Newfoundland

a place of refuge for English Catholics, harassed by the oppressive Recusancy Laws. In 1625, Charles I, soon after his accession, was in the town with all his court ; he had been driven from London by the plague. It is handed down by a tradition, which seems credible, that while here the king lived in a house near All Saints' Church, now No. 17, High Street. During his somewhat prolonged visit he received ambassadors from Holland, who came to try to settle a serious dispute which had broken out between the Dutch East India Company and its English rival : on the one hand the Dutch had robbed and murdered the English merchants of Amboyna ; on the other hand, by way of retaliation, the English had seized three ships of the Dutch company. After deliberation, the two parties came to an agreement known in history as the *Treaty of Southampton* : the Dutch vessels were to be released ; the Dutch company was to compensate the families of the murdered Englishmen. The Dutch, however, as it turned out, did not keep their part of the bargain, and it was not till Cromwell's time, just thirty years later, that a tardy reparation was exacted.

In 1627 the hopes of Southampton's merchants were raised high ; for in that year a *Court Minute* of the East India Company ordered the unlading of the greater ships at this port. Next year the company's ship *Expedition* actually came to the port, and discharged part of its cargo. But in the end the influence of London was too strong, and this important trade with the Orient was retained by the Thames.

4. Quarrels between King and Parliament

James I, before his death in 1625, had completely alienated the nation which twenty-two years earlier had welcomed him so cordially. His extravagance, his favouritism, his tyranny, his obstinacy, his friendship with Spain, his hatred for Parliament, his suppression of Puritanism, the corruption of his court, his own personal coarseness and lack of dignity—these and other similar causes made

him so much disliked, that it is very probable that, had he lived much longer and ruled in the same way, a serious effort to depose him would have been made.

The accession of Charles I relieved the tension, and roused throughout the country hopes of renewed goodwill between King and Commons. For Charles, though born in Scotland, had from his early infancy lived in England, and he was thought to be free from those pedantries and prejudices which had made it impossible for his father ever to adapt himself to his English surroundings. But the hopes which the accession of Charles roused were speedily disappointed ; for Charles, though more polished and refined than James, hated Parliaments even more bitterly than he, had a higher sense of his own divine right as king, and far less tact to guide him safely through disputes. He continued the old obnoxious practices of his father : he refused to dismiss the detested favourite, Buckingham ; he persisted in levying money without the consent of Parliament ; he imprisoned and fined men without due trial ; he trampled on the Puritans.

Southampton had some experience of those arbitrary acts which eventually led to the great Civil War. For example, during a great part of the three years 1626, 1627, and 1628, the town was oppressed by the billeting of soldiers on the inhabitants. In January, 1626, the mayor wrote to Conway, Secretary of State, to ask what he should do with the soldiers ; in June he sent a pressing request for money to pay the troops with, as a mutiny was threatened—he was nearly at his wits' end, and was seriously contemplating running away from the place to escape his worries ; in April, 1627, another outbreak was imminent, owing to a reduction in the pay of some of the soldiers ; in April, 1628, the mayor begged that some fresh troops lately arrived from Ireland might be sent on to Lymington, as the town had already been so heavily oppressed that many of the inhabitants were preparing to seek relief by departing altogether. The *Petition of Right* (1628) put an end to the practice of billeting soldiers in private houses ; but public provision and accommodation could still be demanded from borough authorities,

and in 1635 the Corporation was vainly trying to obtain £905 from the Government in payment of old scores.

By that date, too, another source of trouble had arisen. This was the exaction of ship-money, a levy raised nominally for the defence of the realm, really to provide the king with a regular income in place of the parliamentary supplies which had ceased with the dissolution of Parliament in 1629. In 1634 had come the command that the town of Southampton should furnish a ship of 700 tons, armed and victualled, to aid in the suppression of the Turks and other sea rovers. This command, on the face of it, was quite reasonable, and quite in harmony with the commands which Edward III, Henry V, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and probably nearly every other English sovereign had issued. The danger from Turkish pirates was no merely imaginary one, as the records of the borough abundantly show. But Charles had no serious designs against the Turks ; he had no real wish for ships. It was money that he wanted. Accordingly, next year, 1635, the demand came in naked form. It was a demand for £195—Southampton's share of a total of £6,000 levied on the county of Hampshire. Of course the £195 was paid, though we may imagine with no good will. It was reserved for a Buckinghamshire squire, John Hampden by name, to refuse the unparliamentary requisition (in his case for 32*s.* 6*d.*), and so to raise the great issue in the country.

Five years later (1640), when the outbreak of a war with Scotland had compelled the king to call a Parliament once more, Southampton was brought face to face with a flagrant example of Charles's tyranny. William Prynne, the Puritan lawyer, released at the demand of the Parliament from imprisonment in Mont Orgeuil Castle, Jersey, landed here on November 28. It was then eight years since he had sailed from the port, condemned to life-long incarceration. What had been his offence ? He had published a book, long and dull, called *Histriomastix*, in which he had attacked the theatre, and had spoken with special severity of the then novel practice of employing female players on the stage. This was regarded as an insult to the queen, who was fond of acting. Accordingly, Prynne, who was

already, on account of his violent Puritanism, obnoxious to the court, was summoned to appear before the Star Chamber, by which he was condemned (1) to stand in the pillory ; (2) to be degraded from his university degree ; (3) to be disqualified from practising as a lawyer ; (4) to pay a fine of £5,000 ; (5) to be branded in the forehead ; (6) to have both his ears cut off ; and (7) to suffer perpetual imprisonment. It may be freely admitted that Prynne was an aggravating, stupid, cantankerous, narrow-minded bigot. But what words can fitly describe the governing powers which, even in the intolerant seventeenth century, could visit faults of manners and temper and creed with a penalty thus compounded of sevenfold barbarism ? On November 28, 1640, the people of Southampton received and hailed Prynne as a hero and a martyr, and escorted him on his way to London with great pomp and jubilation. With him was Henry Burton, another victim of the Star Chamber, similarly released from Guernsey. They were met at Charing Cross by a cheering multitude of 10,000 sympathisers.

5. The Civil War and the Fall of the Stuarts

By the autumn of 1642 the quarrel between king and Parliament had become so bitter that there was no way out of it but war. Charles, on August 22, raised his standard in the north, and marched towards London. Since throughout the war the capture of London was the grand object of the king, and its defence the prime concern of the Parliament, Southampton never found itself involved in the main current of the great conflict. Nevertheless it was profoundly affected by the war. To begin with, it was of high importance to the Parliament to get possession of the shipping and the harbours of England, in order to prevent the king of France from sending help to his brother-in-law, the king of England. Accordingly, as soon as hostilities began, the forces of the Parliament assailed Portsmouth, which they captured on September 7. They then seized Calshot Castle, disabled Netley Castle, took possession of all the boats at Hythe, and finally

demanded the surrender of Southampton. The people of Southampton were divided in their allegiance; the common folk were by a great majority in favour of the Parliament, but some of the leading men in the Corporation (including the mayor, Peter Seale) were inclined either to favour the king or to take no part in the quarrel at all. The summons from the Parliament, however, forced their hand, and after much deliberation, a letter was sent to the Parliamentary commander, signed by the mayor and by ninety-five other more or less prominent men. The letter expresses regret that 'suspicions should lie upon this town' respecting its devotion to the cause of the Parliament, and it concludes by declaring that all those whose signatures are appended 'do cheerfully and unanimously consent and agree to submit themselves in obedience . . . to the directions of the committee authorized by the Parliament for the County of Southampton'. They made a virtue of necessity.

A Parliamentary garrison, voted by the House of Commons on November 29, 1642, was sent to the town; the civil government was suspended by a military rule; the mayor was required to give up the keys of the town, and when he refused, was locked up in prison. The command of the borough was at first given to a man named Murford—a tailor by profession, a major in the Parliamentary army by fortune—whose zeal and vigour secured for him in one of the Royalist prints the descriptive title of 'that infamous Brownistical Governor of Southampton'. A committee of leading Parliamentarians was selected to assist him, among whose members three prominent men were Messrs. Legay, Mercer, and Wolfrey. Heavy sums of money were extorted from local Royalists; from Sir John Mills £500, from Master Thomas Mills £200, from Alderman Raymond £100, and so on. Those who declined to pay were plundered, or imprisoned, or sent off in custody to Portsmouth, where, it was humorously remarked, 'a cage' had been provided, in which 'many Hampton birds should sing very suddenly'. Bugle Hall, the Earl of Southampton's house near the west gate, was occupied and used as a gaol.

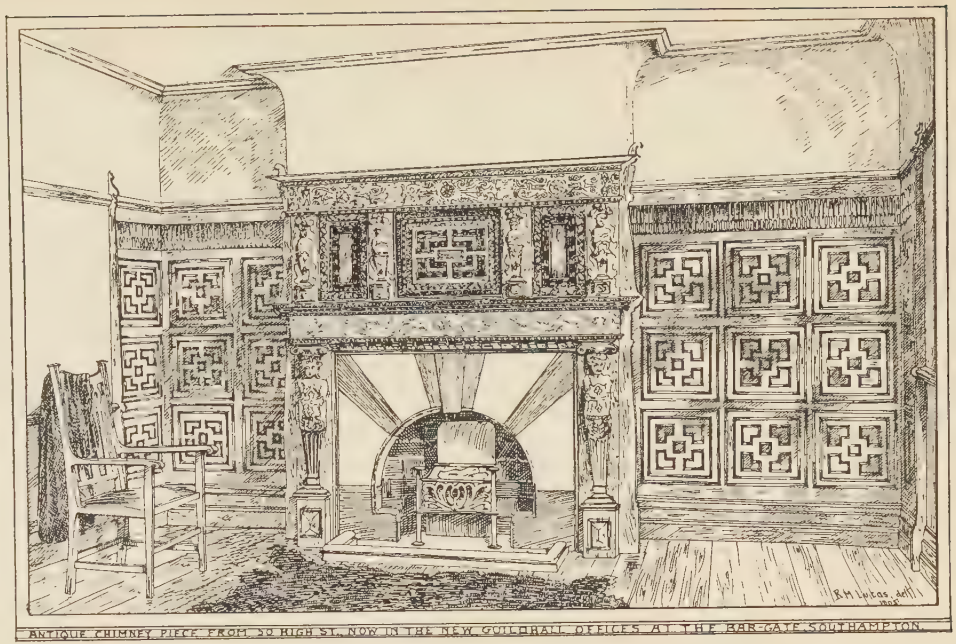

FIG. 13. STUART FIREPLACE, NOW IN THE GUILDHALL
(*From a drawing by R. M. Lucas, F.R.I.B.A.*)

It was in the autumn of 1643 and the spring of 1644, that the situation in Southampton was most critical. The king had planned a threefold advance on London : he himself was to proceed from Oxford ; the Earl of Newcastle was to come down the Great North Road from Yorkshire ; Lord Hopton was to lead the loyalists from Cornwall and Devonshire through the southern counties towards the rebellious capital. Neither the king nor Newcastle was successful, but Hopton carried all before him. He defeated the Parliamentarians at Stratton, Lansdown, and Roundway Down ; got almost complete possession of Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts, and in September advanced into Hampshire. Winchester was his head-quarters, while he occupied Romsey with a strong contingent under Colonels Bennet and Courtney. Then was Southampton seriously threatened, and much hard fighting took place in its neighbourhood. For its defence the Parliament voted additional troops (November 22, 1643), and sent Colonel Richard Norton to take over the command. He proved to be an able and successful soldier, full of resource and dash. On December 12 he achieved a noteworthy triumph. He sallied forth from Southampton at three o'clock in the morning, with 226 men, and at break of day attacked Romsey. He took the Cavaliers completely by surprise, utterly routed them, and returned to Southampton, bringing with him 40 prisoners, together with 200 horses, and a rich prize of arms and ammunition. Among the prisoners—a fact which illustrates the peculiar horror of a civil war—was his own brother, a lieutenant in the Royalist horse. Lord Hopton was not slow in seeking revenge for this blow, which, in his notes on the campaign, he admitted had ruined two of his regiments. He advanced as far as Redbridge, where he destroyed the bridge over the Test, in order to cut off from Southampton all supplies from the New Forest region. Then he so closely beset the town that in a few weeks there was ' hardly anything left for man or beast '. He was, however, too much occupied in other parts of the country to institute anything of the nature of a siege. The Southampton garrison, moreover, under Norton, was so active

and effective, that the town was never in any serious danger of being either captured or starved. The Roundheads did not remain on the defensive, but made vigorous forays on the enemy. On December 27—Hopton, with half his troops having gone to Arundel in Surrey—Norton ventured to within two miles of Winchester, and carried off fifty fat oxen to replenish the Southampton larders. When his men lacked coal he appropriated the stores in the Marquis of Hertford's castle at Netley. Early in February, when two troops of Hopton's men were reconnoitring Southampton, Norton issued forth, outflanked them, defeated them so thoroughly that they fled, leaving behind 80 killed or captive, together with arms, ammunition, and five score horses. The Roundheads, however, though generally successful, met with one sharp reverse. It occurred on March 13, 1644. On that day, Captain Thomas Evans with 120 men were sent out by Norton to make another attack on the Romsey Royalists. They got into the town, but when in it were caught by a large force of Cavaliers, which unexpectedly appeared upon the scene. Evans himself and some 80 of his men were captured. Others were slain; the Romsey registers note several burials of soldiers who fell in this fight; among them were three Hampton men, by name Smith, Norris, and Bowles.

These skirmishes round Southampton were brought to an end a fortnight later by an event which occurred in another part of the county. While Hopton had been pressing on his way toward London, Sir William Waller had been gathering a large Parliamentary army for its defence. On March 29, 1644, a decisive battle was fought at Cheriton, near Alresford. The Royalists were crushingly defeated, and were forced to beat a hasty retreat westward, leaving only isolated outposts, such as the Castle at Winchester and Basing House, to hold out against the conquering Roundheads. The critical importance of the Cheriton fight in the history of the Civil War has not been sufficiently recognized. If Waller had been defeated, Hopton's way to London would have been open, and in order to save the capital from capture Manchester and

Cromwell would have been compelled to bring southward the army of the eastern association. If they had done so, there would have been no battle of Marston Moor on July 2. The whole subsequent history of the war, in fact, would have been different. As it was, Hopton's plans were ruined, and the hopes of Charles once more dashed to the ground. In the words of Clarendon, this defeat 'broke all the measures and altered the whole scheme of the king's counsels'.

The effect of Cheriton fight on Southampton was immediate and immense. The whole countryside was cleared of the king's soldiers, and the people of the town could once more go out and come in freely. The garrison of the borough, under Colonel Norton, was able to risk leaving the place and take part in distant enterprises. They joined Waller's forces in pursuit of the flying Royalists, and formed part of the army which occupied Salisbury (where they 'made all the Cathedral men run for it'), relieved Lyme Regis, and secured Weymouth. Later on, in July, 1644, 'a company from Southampton, seven-score strong,' took part in the attack on Basing House. In August of the same year, a hundred infantry from Southampton were facing Winchester and demanding its surrender.

During the closing months of 1644 and the early months of 1645 the Royalist cause, to some extent, recovered from the heavy blow which it had received at Cheriton. Basing House, defended with magnificent courage and resource by the loyal Marquis of Winchester, defied the efforts of the Roundheads. The city and castle of Winchester, also, maintained a successful resistance. Lord Goring, at the head of a band of Royalist freelances (who in the end did infinitely more harm to the king's cause by their villanies than they did good by their military operations) reoccupied Salisbury, and made it the head-quarters of widespread plundering raids. Things once more became lively in the neighbourhood of Southampton. On February 4, 1645, Goring's troopers were so near the town that it was reported unsafe to go a single mile from its walls. On April 14 Norton had a sharp fight with Sir William Ogle, governor of Winchester, at Hursley; Norton gained the

victory, and secured several prisoners, although he had but 130 men to oppose Ogle's 250. On May 23 Norton made a successful attack on Langford House, near Salisbury, where by a skilful stratagem he captured 74 of its defenders.

By that time, however, the Civil War was drawing to a close. On July 14, 1645, the king was irretrievably ruined by his crushing defeat at Naseby; after that disaster the surrender of Charles and the capitulation of all the Royalist strongholds was merely a matter of time. On September 28 Winchester opened its gates to Cromwell; on October 14 Basing House was taken by storm and burnt to the ground. Cromwell and his Ironsides were supreme throughout England.

It was long, however, before the relics of the great war were removed; not till October, 1651, did the Rump Parliament order the disbanding of the Southampton garrison; not till the following June were the guns and ammunition removed from the town, and a guard-house, built for the defence of the Bargate, pulled down.

As to the unhappy king, he gave himself up to his enemies in May, 1646, and, after various experiences and adventures, at length found himself a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle. It was November, 1647, when he arrived there, and there he was kept for thirteen months. The Corporation of Southampton, as usual torn by conflicting policies, did not know what to do. To take no notice of the king, when he was so near, would be to court retribution on his (then expected) restoration to his throne; to show friendship to him would be to risk the anger of the (then omnipotent) army. They compromised the matter: on January 6, 1648, they voted to the king a 'present of household provision', but left it to the decision of Mr. Edward Exton, one of the members for the borough, whether it should actually be sent or not. We do not know what Mr. Exton's decision was.

In December, 1648, Charles was moved from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle, and from Hurst Castle by way of Winchester to London. There, on January 30, 1649, he was called upon to suffer death.

6. The Commonwealth

For the eleven years following the execution of Charles I there was no king in England. A republican form of government was established, the effective strength of which lay in the army. The royal family was scattered far and wide. The Queen, Henrietta Maria, found refuge in her native country, France. The Prince of Wales (who from the day of his father's death called himself King Charles II) wandered about Europe, disconsolate and disreputable, seeking help for the recovery of his realm. Two of the late king's younger children remained prisoners in the hands of the army : these were Prince Henry and his sister the Lady Elizabeth, a frail girl of fifteen. The two were brought to Southampton on August 12, 1650, and here they were 'entertained' by the ex-tailor Governor Murford. Next day they were—by a refinement of tactless cruelty—sent on to Carisbrooke, 'to be kept close' in the castle in which their father had languished so long. It was, however, beyond the power of earthly bars and bolts, or of human gaolers, to hold the little princess captive. Only three weeks after her arrival at Carisbrooke, on September 8, 1650, it was told that her spirit had escaped, and by the way of death had gained its first freedom from the tumults of party conflict and civil war.

If the victorious army had expected that the execution of Charles I would give peace to the country, the event proved that they had made a miscalculation. They were soon involved in war with the Scots on land, and with the Dutch on sea. The naval struggle with the Dutch was of great importance. Although it was very distasteful to Cromwell to fight with Protestants and Republicans, the conflict was inevitable ; for during the troublous days of the civil war in England the Dutch had quietly secured the command of the sea, and had made themselves supreme in the commerce of the world, and they had no disposition to admit the English to a share of their monopoly. Hence for three years (1651–3) the English seamen, under

Blake, strove to recover the sovereignty of the Channel, and in the end succeeded. On two occasions Southampton was brought prominently into the stream of the conflict. First, towards the end of 1652, the mayor received an order requiring him to impress and send seventy-five sailors for the fleet. He showed no more zeal in the matter than had the mayor of 1588 under similar circumstances. By February 4, 1653, he had managed to get together only twenty-one, and these he dispatched with an apology, pleading the poverty of the town. Secondly, a fortnight later (February 18–20, 1653) a three days' battle took place between the English navy and a Dutch merchant fleet, sailing under convoy, off the Needles. The Dutch were eventually defeated, with a loss of fifty merchant ships and 1,500 prisoners. No less than 1,100 of the prisoners were brought to Southampton, and quartered there, in spite of the protests of the mayor. It is no matter for surprise that pestilence broke out among the unhappy herd, and that great mortality prevailed throughout the town. The one local doctor, who had to deal with this sudden increase of practice, himself lost his wife and two assistants during the year from plague, and when at the end of it he sent in a bill of over £106, no one dared go near him to dispute it, for fear of contagion.

That the Commonwealth Government was not pleased or satisfied with the Corporation of Southampton during this period is clearly evident. Two incidents will suffice to show this. In March, 1655 a certain Captain Martin Jubbs of Portsmouth arrived with a garrison from that town. A serious Royalist rising had taken place in Wiltshire under Penruddock, and a once-prominent Southampton burgess, named Robert Mason, was associated with him. Salisbury was occupied, and Southampton threatened. The mayor of Southampton, William Higgins, a Royalist in sympathy, refused to give up the keys to Captain Jubbs, and did not do so until he had been besieged in the Audit House (then situated in the middle of the High Street), and had been compelled by superior force to surrender. Oliver Cromwell and his Council were informed of the mayor's malignancy, and accordingly, in

consideration of his 'miscarriage and misdemeanours' they deposed him, and ordered the Corporation to elect a 'man of integrity' in his place. With the offending mayor fell the sheriff, Edward Downer, and Alderman William Stanley. This local 'Pride's Purge', however, did not free the Corporation from disaffection. A year later (May 5, 1656) Goffe, Cromwell's 'major-general' for Hampshire and Sussex, wrote to the Secretary of State from Winchester and said: 'Being yesterday at my Lord Richard Cromwell's, I met with very sad complaints concerning the unworthy carriage of the magistrates of the town of Southampton against the godly party. . . . My Lord Richard Cromwell and Mr. Major are very sensible of the wicked spirit of the magistrates, and do judge it absolutely necessary that something be done against this.'

The names mentioned in this extract bring us to another interesting episode in Southampton's history. Towards the close of the reign of Charles I (February, 1648), Oliver Cromwell entered into negotiations with Mr. Richard Major of Hursley (son of Alderman John Major of Southampton, who had been mayor of the town in 1600 and 1615). He wished to arrange a marriage between his eldest son, Richard, and Mr. Major's eldest daughter and heiress, Dorothy, 'the report of whose virtues and godliness,' he wrote, had 'so great a place' in his heart that he thought fit 'not to neglect anything' on his part which might 'consummate a close of the business'. The term 'business' exactly describes the transaction; for Richard Cromwell had never set eyes on Dorothy Major when the matter was opened up; and after it had been opened up its happy consummation was delayed for over a year by haggling over the marriage settlement. At last Oliver gave way, saying that 'the report of the young lady's godliness' caused him 'to deny himself in the matter of moneys'. Accordingly, on May Day, 1649, Richard and Dorothy were married at Hursley Church. They settled down with Richard Major at Hursley, were there when Goffe visited them in 1656, and were still in residence when in September, 1658, news

came that the great Protector Oliver had passed away, and that, ' the Lord Richard ' had been called to fill his place.

The long and delicate negotiations which ended in this marriage were carried on in part by the mediation of an Independent preacher of Southampton, by name Nathaniel Robinson. In or about 1648 he was ' intruded ' into the rectory of St. Lawrence, and a year or two later into that of All Saints. These two livings he continued to hold until the close of the Commonwealth period, and the consequent restoration of episcopal government.

7. The Restoration and the Second Fall of the Stuarts

It is a very remarkable thing that the Commonwealth form of rule, which was intensely disliked by the large majority of the nation, should have been able to maintain itself for so long a period as eleven years (1649–60). That as a matter of fact it did so was due mainly to the genius and strength of Oliver Cromwell, and to the terror inspired by his unconquerable army. After the death of the great Protector, on September 3, 1658, both the army and the civil administration fell to pieces, and the restoration of Charles II speedily became at once possible and necessary.

The fall of the Puritans and the return of the king made an immense change in Southampton. The local Royalists who had been persecuted and harried and mulcted of their property ever since the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, again found themselves in authority. They greeted the Restoration with bonfires and bell-ringing ; on the day of the king's coronation the conduits of the town ran with claret ; the great guns were fired, and the Corporation went in state to Holyrood Church to give thanks for the happy event. One hundred and thirty-five of the leading inhabitants of the town (whose names can be read in a paper preserved in the Audit House) made ' a free and voluntary present ' to His Majesty of about £150. William Higgins and Edward Downer, who had

been expelled by Cromwell from the Corporation, were reinstated, while a prominent Puritan alderman, James Caplin by name, was ejected. In 1662, under the Act of Uniformity, Nathaniel Robinson and the other 'intruded' ministers were removed from the parish churches of the town, and duly ordained clergymen were reinducted. Such of the townsfolk as clung to the ejected ministers and the Puritan form of worship gradually gathered themselves together to establish the Independent religious society which, when the laws of the Clarendon Code were relaxed, grew to be the Above Bar Congregational Church. To one of the earliest and most prominent members of that little band of dissenters was born, in 1674, at a house in French Street, a son who was destined to render inestimable service to the whole Christian Church—Isaac Watts, the hymn-writer.

Five years after the return of Charles II, Southampton gained a sad notoriety as the place which, next to London, suffered most from the ravages of the great plague. On June 6, 1665, a sick child was brought from London and placed under the care of a widow in Southampton. Though no one knew it then, it was the plague with which the child was stricken. Soon it died, and then the widow fell ill. She too was carried away, and in rapid succession every member of her household. From that one infected house the pestilence spread through all the town. Most of the wealthy inhabitants fled into the country; even the clergy in panic deserted their posts. Famine threatened to add its horrors to those of the deadly disease; for none of the country folk would come with their wonted supplies to the place which thus lay beneath the visible scourge of God. The mayor, Thomas Cornelius, remained in the town, faithful to his duty, and with him remained one justice of the peace; but so heavy was the burden which fell upon them during that distressful time, that they wrote to the Hampshire justices and also to the king (who had left plague-stricken London for Salisbury) that 'they must needs sink under the load or fly from it, unless some kindly course be taken for their encouragement and assistance'. The king sent £50 and a physician; the nobles of

the court forwarded generous donations ; the towns in the neighbourhood, Portsmouth, Gosport, Titchfield, Lymington, and even Dorchester and Poole, rendered willing assistance, and before the end of the year the plague was got under control. But in less than six months over 800 people —about one-sixth of the whole population of the borough— had been swept away. One is not surprised at the heavy death-roll claimed by this and similar visitations, when one observes the ignorance of the most elementary rules of health which prevailed at the time. The marvel is that any escaped.

The rest of the incidents of the Restoration period are soon told. In 1669 Charles II visited the town, where he was entertained in the High Street house of Mr. Robert Richbell, who had been member for the borough in the Convention Parliament which had recalled the king to his kingdom in 1660. With Charles came his brother James, Duke of York, and also James's future rival for the throne, the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth. In 1679 the tolls at the Bargate were redeemed and abolished, so that municipal free trade was established. In 1688, when James, Duke of York, had become king as James II, the town was threatened with the loss of its charter. But in the nick of time the ' Glorious Revolution ' took place, and the expulsion of the unpopular king saved the liberties of the borough.

CHAPTER X

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION: A. D. 1688–1750

1. The 'Glorious Revolution'

The peaceful accession of William of Orange in 1689 marked a crisis and turning-point in the history of England, not less important than the conquest of the kingdom by William of Normandy in 1066. It was the sign and seal of the complete triumph of the Parliament over the monarchy. When the legitimate king had been expelled, the line of succession broken, and the throne kept vacant for a couple of months, it ceased to be possible for any subsequent English sovereign to claim to rule by any other title than that conferred by the law of the land. The Revolution, moreover, had a religious significance; it established the 'Protestant Succession', and by making a Roman Catholic incapable of wearing the crown, completed that separation of the English state from the Roman Church which the Reformation had begun. From these two immediate results others flowed. The country became involved in a struggle with France—a struggle which, with intervals of truce, lasted until, a century and a quarter later, it culminated on the field of Waterloo. This colossal conflict during its long and varied course robbed England of her American colonies, but gave her in compensation Canada, and Australia, and South Africa, with supremacy in India —the materials from which to build a new and more enduring colonial empire. Within England herself the Revolution led to the rapid development of the cabinet system of government; to the organization of the two political parties, Whig and Tory; and to the granting of a large measure of toleration to Protestant Nonconformists.

2. Parliamentary Elections in Southampton

Southampton had regularly returned two members to Parliament ever since Edward I, in 1295, had made the representatives of boroughs a fixed and permanent portion of the House of Commons. In early times, however, the sending of members to Parliament was looked upon as a painful duty rather than a valuable right, while to be a member of Parliament was felt to be a burden and not an honour. Hence in the Middle Ages there had been no struggle for the franchise, and the return of members had become a mere item of corporation business. When the writ ordering an election came to the town, the matter was laid before the assembly of mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, and they selected two men—usually from their own number—to obey the summons of the king. The political conflicts of the seventeenth century, however, made a great change in the respect in which parliamentary representation was held. The 'Great Rebellion' and the 'Glorious Revolution' between them made Parliament the master of the kingdom, and consequently the right to vote for a member of the House of Commons became the right to share in the effective government of the country.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find that in the very year of William III's accession (1689) a fierce conflict broke out in the town concerning the franchise. In the autumn of the year one of the borough members, Richard Brett, died, and a writ for a by-election was issued. The mayor, aldermen, and select burgesses accordingly met and chose Edward Fleming of North Stoneham to fill the vacant place. But the ratepayers of the town, who were much concerned with the spending of the moneys voted by the Corporation, claimed a share of the election, and in order to bring the matter to an issue, they proceeded to choose Sir Charles Wyndham of Cranbury, as their representative. The dispute came before the House of Commons for settlement, and the House confirmed the claim of the ratepayers, and declared Sir Charles Wyndham duly elected.

In 1695 another election dispute had to be settled by the House : were non-resident burgesses entitled to vote ? The House decided that they were. Yet once more, in 1735, Southampton's representation occupied the attention of Parliament. This time the question was, Who are the proper returning officers ? The House found that it was the business of the mayor and bailiffs to make the returns.

In the eighteenth century the number of votes polled at a parliamentary election in Southampton was usually about 400. Voting was, of course, quite open and public, and the votes were generally recorded in the presence of the returning officers at the Proclamation House at the west end of Holyrood Church. Polling was spread over two or three days, and at the end of each day cards were printed showing the state of the poll. Some of these cards, together with lists indicating how every elector voted, are preserved in the library of the Hartley College.

3. The French Wars

The wars with France, which almost filled the reigns of William III and Anne, did not affect Southampton in the same direct way as the earlier ' Hundred Years' ' struggle had done. For not only was war waged in a manner wholly different from that in which it had been carried on under Edward III and Henry V ; it was also waged for ends and purposes entirely changed. The English had little to fear from French invasion, and even if their fear had been great, they would have gained but small comfort from the contemplation of the crumbling walls of Southampton and other mediaeval strongholds. For the strength of artillery had become so great that the masonry of the old builders went down before it as though it had been made of paper. The English, moreover, had no desire to begin again their ancient efforts to conquer French territory, or win the French crown for their king. The world had become larger since the days of the Plantagenets ; the battlefields of English and French had shifted to lands and seas undreamed of by the warriors of Creçy and

Agincourt ; it was to maintain the balance of power in Europe, to gain the sovereignty of the ocean, and to establish colonial empire that the old rivals renewed their long-suspended strife.

Southampton's share in this new struggle was less direct and important than her share in the Hundred Years' War had been ; she was not in the forefront of either attack or defence. Her chief work seems to have been to take charge of prisoners of war, and to provide a home for

Fig. 14. The Ancient Wool-House. (Used as a Prison for French Captives during the War with Napoleon.)

political refugees from the Continent. At the south-west corner of the town stood—and still stands—a huge bare stone building, eighty feet long by forty feet wide. This building had been the Wool House in mediaeval times, when England's export trade had consisted almost wholly of commerce in wools, woolfells, and leather. With the beginning of the modern period, when the export of wool had been forbidden, its old use had passed away, and its vast emptiness was available for the storage of men. Hither, then, French and Spanish prisoners were sent, and here, in this barn-like structure, almost devoid of light,

wholly wanting in means of warmth, and free from any attempt at sanitation, were they herded. No wonder that disease was rampant among them, and that the lives of the people of the town were imperilled by the plague.

Among the refugees who sought an asylum in Southampton, was Philibert d'Hervart, Baron d'Hunningen. Under William III he had been employed by the Government as envoy extraordinary at Geneva. In his later days he settled in Southampton, where he was noted for his charities. He died in 1721, and was buried in Holyrood Church.

4. Southampton still Unprosperous

Neither the prisoners of war nor the foreign refugees brought much profit to Southampton, and there is evidence from various quarters that at the close of the seventeenth century, and during the first half of the eighteenth century, the town remained poor and decayed. In 1695, for instance, Bishop Gibson, in publishing a new and enlarged edition of Camden's *Britannia*, remarked of Southampton, that it was ' not in the same flourishing state as formerly ; for, having lost its trade, it has lost also most of its inhabitants ; and the great houses of its merchants are now dropping to the ground, and only show its ancient magnificence '. Just a quarter of a century later (1720) the editor of a similar work, entitled *Magna Britannia*, after describing the town, and explaining its system of government, gave a vivid impression of the smallness of its population when he said that ' there are five churches for the inhabitants, who are not so many at present, but fewer [churches] would be sufficient '. Soon after, in 1728, the *Commercial Atlas* not only noticed the decline, but also, to some extent, explained it, when it remarked that though Southampton ' was formerly in a manner the exchange of England for the purchase and sale of Newfoundland fish ', the trade had been captured by Poole, and consequently Southampton was languishing. Finally, the very next year, 1729, one of the members of the famous Hampshire family of Pawlet wrote a letter in

which he spoke of this town as ' an old fortification run to ruin ', and added that ' the trade of the town is inconsiderable, and the vessels that lie here are but few '.

The darkness of that period of adversity, however, is not without some relief. It seems to have been at this very time that Huguenot refugees from France—driven from their own country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and drawn to Southampton by the knowledge that it contained a French Protestant Church—brought hither and established here the paper-making industry. In 1686 a charter was granted to ' The Governor and Company of White Paper Makers of England ', and of the fifteen original members no less than three were connected with Southampton. One of the leading paper-factories of this neighbourhood was the South Stoneham mill (now Mr. Gater's corn-mill). Thither in 1705 came Henri Portal, a Huguenot refugee of good family, from Toulouse. In 1718, Henri Portal, starting in business on his own account, established the Laverstoke paper-mill, near Whitchurch, and in 1724 he obtained from the Government the valuable monopoly of the manufacture of the paper required for Bank of England notes. At the present day the same mills enjoy the same honourable and responsible privilege, and they are held by the representative of the same distinguished family, Sir William Portal, Bart., great-grandson of the Huguenot refugee.

Perhaps another hint of returning prosperity may be the fact that in 1720 the first regular stage-coach began its journeys between Southampton and London.

5. The Earl of Peterborough and Bevois Mount

I cannot but think that the establishment of a regular coach-service from London to Southampton had some close connexion with the coming to the town and the settlement at Bevois Mount of Charles Mordaunt, the eccentric and romantic Earl of Peterborough. For it was about this date that Peterborough rented (for £14 a year) Bevois Hill and some pieces of land round it, all of which had formerly been portions of the estates of St. Denys

Priory. Later he purchased this property, and added to it the neighbouring Padwell estate, which he secured by exchange from the God's House domains of Queen's College, Oxford. In this rural retreat, which Alexander Pope, the poet, described as 'beautiful beyond imagination', Peterborough spent many of the closing years of his life. Here he received and entertained, in almost ceaseless succession, many of the most distinguished men of the day, among them Pope, Swift, Spence, Arbuthnot, and Voltaire. Pope, for instance, was here in 1732. He and Peterborough drove together from Bevois Mount to Winchester to attend the annual prize-giving and 'gaudy' at the college. The occasion was an interesting one. Pope had been appointed one of the college examiners that year, and he had set as the subject for a prize poem, 'The Campaign of Valencia.' Then, when the award had been made, the hero of the campaign accompanied the poet-adjudicator to congratulate the winner of the prize.

Soon after this event Peterborough's fatal disease laid firm hold upon him. He spent long periods at his cottage nursed by his faithful though long unacknowledged wife, the virtuous and accomplished Anastasia Robinson. Amid severe sufferings he maintained an indomitable cheerfulness, refused to abandon hope of recovery, and persisted in framing large projects for the future. At last a surgical operation became necessary, and he left Bevois Mount to undergo the ordeal. But, though he bore the pain of the operation with heroic fortitude, his impatient spirit could not brook the delay of the slow and imperfect recovery, and, long before he ought to have moved from his bed, amid the protests of his physicians, he ordered his coach and drove back to Southampton. For a time he rallied, but he soon began to realize that his end might be near. In July, 1735, he wrote to Lady Suffolk, 'I want to make an appointment with you, Mr. Pope, and a few friends more to meet me upon the summit of my Bevois Hill, whence,' he continued, 'after a tender farewell, I shall take my leap towards the clouds to mix among the stars.'

Pope came to Bevois Mount in August, and was shocked to find his friend already on the verge of death But

Fig. 15. View from Bevois Mount in the Eighteenth Century (Pope's View).
(*From a drawing kindly lent by W. Burrough Hill, Esq.*)

Peterborough maintained unflagging vivacity and undying hope. Pope, writing of him to Miss Martha Blount, said, ' He talked of nothing but the great amendment of his condition, and of finishing the buildings and gardens for his " best friend " (his wife) to enjoy after him,' and he actually projected a history of the latter part of Queen Anne's reign. ' He has with him,' continued Pope, ' day after day, not only all his relations, but every creature of the town of Southampton that pleases. He lies on his couch, and receives them, though he says little. When his pains come he desires them to walk out, but invites them to stay and dine or sup.' When Pope brought this last, sad visit to a close, Peterborough gave him a watch, which had been the gift of the king of Sicily, saying as he handed it to him, ' You will now have something to put you every day in mind of me.'

Peterborough, however, did not die at Bevois Mount. The passion for mere motion seized him, and he was carried to London, where he passed his days in alternations of dinner parties and bed. But London did not satisfy him. He thought that in the South of Europe he might pull through the winter. So he sailed for Portugal, and reached Lisbon. There, however, his journey came to an end. Just a week after he landed, on October 25, 1735, at the age of seventy-seven, he passed away. Lady Peterborough, after her husband's death and burial, returned to Southampton, and spent at Bevois Mount the remaining twenty years of her life.

CHAPTER XI

THE LATE HANOVERIAN PERIOD: A. D. 1750–1837

1. The Coming of the Princes

The middle of the eighteenth century saw the merchants of Southampton still struggling to recover their lost prosperity, and that not wholly without success. In 1753 an anonymous 'Gentleman' who had made a 'Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain' published four volumes, narrating his experiences. In the first of these he told how he visited Southampton, found that it had for many years been decaying, but that its position had of late improved, owing to the transference of much of the Portugal wine trade to its quays from the London wharves. With reference to its older activities, he remarked that it continued to retain the Channel Island connexion; that there were 'still some merchants who trade to Newfoundland for fish'; that there was yet 'some ship-building, though not near so much as formerly'; and that, if the enemies of the town could be believed, 'not a little smuggling' was carried on.

In 1754 the borough authorities made a notable effort to bring shipping to the port. They passed two resolutions: first, they agreed to remit for twenty-one years all petty customs on African and American goods; secondly, they expressed their willingness to compound with importers in respect of other goods. Was there in Southampton some now-forgotten economist who anticipated by nearly a quarter of a century Adam Smith and the doctrine of Free Trade?

The revival of Southampton was not, however, destined at that time to come from a recovery of her lost commerce, but from a wholly different source. Amazing as it may appear to those who at the present day know the

town only as a busy railway and steamboat centre, it became a fashionable health and pleasure-resort, and for three-quarters of a century held its own as a gathering-place of ' polite society '. Yet there is nothing to marvel at. For Southampton was in those days a town of singular attractiveness and charm. Its eight thousand inhabitants lived, almost all of them, within the circuit of its walls, and beyond the walls lay fair stretches of open country, traversed by shady lanes, which led either down to the wide estuary of the winding river, or up to the rich verdure of the virgin forest. Its tidal waters provided the sea-bathing which was then so popular ; a mildly mineral spring near the Bargate supplied a harmless beverage for those who thought that they were ill or who wanted a medical excuse for idleness. For the rest, its convenient nearness to London sufficed to give it a vogue ; it could be reached in one day, while to get to Bath took two.

The date at which Southampton began to be a fashionable watering-place can be fixed exactly. It was in 1750 that Frederick, Prince of Wales, eldest son of George II, and heir-apparent to the throne, favoured the borough with his patronage. He was staying at the time at Gilbury, and from there he paid several visits to the town, on one of which he received the freedom of the corporation. Soon afterwards two other royal princes, the Dukes of York and Cumberland, began to honour the place by paying it occasional and prolonged visits. The example set by these acknowledged leaders of fashion was, of course, followed by ' numbers of the nobility and gentry ', and the old inns of the town—the Dolphin, the Star, the Crown, and others—found themselves hard pushed to provide accommodation for the gilded throng.

2. The Seven Years' War

In 1756 the Seven Years' War with France broke out. It arose in Europe through an attempt on the part of Austria, Russia, and France to crush the rising power of Prussia ; but when Great Britain intervened to save

Prussia from destruction, the struggle became world-wide in its scope, and French and English met in deadly conflict, not only in Europe, but also in India, in Canada, and on distant seas. The opening of the war found Britain unprepared, with navy weak and army disorganized. The Duke of Newcastle, then Prime Minister, was, though honest and well meaning, one of the most ignorant and incapable men who have ever controlled the destiny of this country. He had no confidence in England, and feared that she was not strong enough even for her own defence. His nervous terror proved to be infectious. 'We are undone both at home and abroad,' wrote Lord Chesterfield, 'we are no longer a nation.' Hence to protect England from invasion Hessian troops were hired and brought over from Germany. In November, 1756, a large contingent was dumped upon Southampton. But the innkeepers at first refused to provide them with quarters. So large wooden huts, each to accommodate sixty men, had hastily to be constructed on Shirley Common, to shelter the unwelcome and unnecessary visitors. In a few weeks, however, a compromise was arrived at. The innkeepers agreed to receive the better type of the foreign troops, the Hessian Grenadiers, on condition that the remainder were sent away from the neighbourhood altogether. Later on, other Hessian regiments were received here, and in 1759 the Government voted £2,500 in payment of the charges of the Southampton innkeepers.

Before this date, however, the conduct of the war had passed into the hands of a man of a very different type from that of Newcastle. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, had become Secretary of State, with full control of military affairs, and he had begun his marvellous work of reviving the spirit of the nation and organizing victory. The year 1759 saw the climax of his triumphs. In Germany the French were defeated at Minden; in Canada they lost Quebec; on the sea they were checked by Boscawen off Cadiz, and crushed by Hawke at Quiberon Bay. It is the last named of these striking successes that most nearly concerns us locally. For the victor of Quiberon Bay came to spend his closing years just on the

outskirts of Southampton, namely at Swathling. The house in which he lived, not far from Woodmill, has been demolished ; but his tomb, together with a fine memorial tablet, are to be seen to-day in North Stoneham Church. The result of Hawke's victory was to give England the command of the sea for twenty years, and so to enable her to consolidate her dominion in Canada and her suzerainty over India.

3. Southampton as a Fashionable Health Resort

While the great war was proceeding Southampton was steadily advancing in favour as a resort for the fashionable throng. Provision had to be made both for their accommodation and their entertainment. In 1761 the ' Long Rooms ' were erected on the western quay, and six years later were greatly enlarged and improved. Here during the summer season a ball was held every Tuesday night at seven o'clock, at which, said the rules, no gentleman was to appear with sword or in boots, nor any lady in ' an apron, mittens, or black gloves '. In 1766 fifteen gentlemen contributed ten guineas each to start a theatre in French Street. It was built on the model of Convent Garden Theatre, and in it plays were acted ' three times a week during the season, by one of the best companies of country comedians '. Sea-bathing establishments were set up, one near the Long Rooms, another near the Platform. In course of time an annual regatta was instituted, as also autumnal races on the Common.

The reign of George III was a period of extensive building activity in Southampton. In 1774 there were just over 700 houses in the town, all save 120 of which were within the walls. In 1824, exactly half a century later, the total number was 2,535. The great increase, of course, took place in the suburbs. About 1770 the Polygon was planned by General Carnac ; it was to consist of a dozen fine houses placed on the facets of a twelve-sided polygon, towards the centre of which the gardens were to converge. Only three of the houses, however, were ever built. Cumberland Place, Gloucester Square,

FIG. 16. MONUMENT TO LORD HAWKE IN NORTH STONEHAM CHURCH.
(From a photograph lent by the Rector of North Stoneham).

Bedford Place, Brunswick Place, Moira Place, Sussex Place, and many other rows of good houses were put up during this period and named after men of note of the day. At the beginning of George III's reign the population of Southampton was some 6,000; when the census of 1821 was taken it showed 13,353 inhabitants. The local guides give us a partial explanation of this remarkable increase. 'There is no neighbourhood in Great Britain,' says one, 'where politeness, good-breeding, harmony, and friendship reign so universally, and are so productive of undisguised confidence and undisturbed tranquillity. Assuming arrogance and boorish pride . . . are totally banished this happy country . . . No wonder the Royal Family evidently show a predilection for this part of England, and no wonder so many of the first families in the kingdom visit it annually and ardently desire to possess at least a cottage in the region of politeness.'

The French Revolution and the Great Wars

On June 26, 1789, George III and his queen visited Southampton. They were received by the corporation in the Audit House, where they were presented with a loyal address, and afterwards were conducted to the quay and to the Platform, then the fashionable promenade. But though they graciously adapted themselves to the occasion, and expressed their pleasure at the grandeur of the views which spread before them, their minds must have been to some extent preoccupied by the serious events which were transpiring across the Channel. France had become bankrupt; the states-general of the kingdom, which had not been summoned for a century and three-quarters, had been called by the desperate king; on May 5 they had assembled, had taken the control of French affairs into their own hands, had—just a week before George III's visit to Southampton—formed themselves into the National Assembly, and in doing so had inaugurated the French Revolution. From that time events moved with startling swiftness, and moved from one extreme of violence to another, until in August, 1792,

the monarchy was overthrown, and in January, 1793, Louis XVI was led to the guillotine. For nearly four years (1789–93) England, in common with the other nations of Europe, remained mere spectators of the great fire of revolution which was burning up old institutions in France ; but at the end of that time the blaze threatened to spread from France to the whole of the Continent ; so a ring of powers was formed to keep it in, and as a result

Fig. 17. The Assembly Rooms, West Quay

England found herself at war with the French Republic in February, 1793. With one brief interval the war between England and France lasted for twenty-two years, until the French Republic had been changed into a tyrannous empire, which it was the work of Wellington and Blücher to destroy at Waterloo in 1815.

This long-continued conflict had a great influence on the fortunes of Southampton. The nobility and gentry were called away from the dances in the Long Rooms, the assemblies at the Dolphin, the discussions at the Mitre

Coffee House, and the rides in the Forest to lead their regiments to fields of battle in far-distant lands. The development of Southampton received a check. Building languished ; the Polygon remained incomplete, with only three of its twelve sides occupied ; Albion Terrace, within the walls, which was to have been splendid with eight houses in the Grecian style on the north side, and ten houses in the Venetian style on the south side, was never finished. More in demand than fashionable boarding-houses were quarters for troops. In 1794 an army destined for Ostend encamped near Netley ; in 1795 a large force was collected on Shirley Common, whence in due course it was dispatched to the West Indies, where—sad to relate—it perished miserably and ingloriously of plague ; again, in 1799, Shirley saw the gathering of troops, this time intended for the Helder ; finally, in 1800, the army of Egypt encamped at Netley, and this force by its brilliant successes sufficed to cover the failures and misfortunes of the other three. When, a few years later, Napoleon threatened England with invasion, Southampton was second to no town or city in the zeal with which she enrolled volunteers for the defence of the realm. By 1802 five distinct companies were in existence ; there was one troop of cavalry, three of infantry, and a body of Sea Fencibles. One of the troops of infantry was raised and trained entirely at the cost of one loyal resident of Portswood, Mr. Walter Taylor, who at Woodmill carried on an extensive business in blocks and pumps of his own invention, for the English ships of war. Owing to the frequent departure of bodies of cavalry from the port of Southampton, the Government, early in the nineteenth century, built a large block of barracks near the entrance to the avenue. In 1816, the war being over, these barracks were converted into an orphanage for the children of soldiers ; in 1841 they became the offices of the Ordnance Survey.

During the early stages of the war the English Channel and even Southampton Water were so insecure by reason of the presence of French privateers that it was thought desirable to connect London, Portsmouth, Southampton, Bristol, and other important towns by a system of inland

navigation. Hence in 1795 was projected the Southampton and Salisbury Canal with its connexions. The main canal was to start from the Platform at Southampton and join the river Test at Redbridge ; it was to leave the river at Kimbridge and make for Salisbury. A branch was to run from Houndwell to join the Itchen navigation and so open communication with Winchester. Winchester was to be linked up with Basingstoke and London, while Salisbury was to be joined to Reading and Bristol. The scheme fell through, partly because of its unexpectedly heavy expense, partly because the victories of Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson cleared the Channel of the enemy and restored to Britain the command of the sea.

5. The Era of Development and Reform

The first national census was taken in 1801, and every ten years from that date the people of the United Kingdom have been numbered. These periodical returns give us the only exact statements which we possess concerning the population of the borough of Southampton. In 1801 Southampton contained 7,913 inhabitants ; in 1811, 9,617 ; in 1821, 13,353 ; in 1831, 19,324 ; in 1841, 27,744. What is the explanation of this remarkably rapid increase ? It is to be found in the development of the shipping and commerce of the port. In 1803 an Act of Parliament was secured for extending the quays and making docks ; nothing much, however, was done under this Act beyond removing the ancient Water-gate of the town. In 1820 the first steamship commenced plying in Southampton Water, and two years later a steam-service to the Channel Islands was established. In 1835 the Commercial Steam Packet Company was formed, and next year the Dock Company seriously undertook the work of developing the port. At exactly the same time the making of a railway to London was begun. By 1839 two sections were completed and in working order. For 1*s.* 6*d.* a passenger could travel from Southampton to Winchester ; thence he had to take coach to Basingstoke ; at Basingstoke he paid 7*s.* and was carried by train to the Nine Elms

at Vauxhall, which was the London terminus of the new line. In May, 1840, the link between Winchester and Basingstoke was finished, and then a fast train, under favourable conditions, could accomplish the whole journey 'in about three hours'. The time-tables, however, were cautious: they gave the hours at which the six trains started for London daily; but they remained prudently silent concerning the time of arrival.

The era of development was also the era of reform. In 1832 the Parliamentary Reform Act placed the election of members for the borough in the hands of all male householders whose houses were worth £10 a year in rent; in 1834 the admirable Poor Law Amendment Act restricted the system of outdoor relief of able-bodied paupers and reorganized the workhouse; in 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act established the present governing body consisting of councillors, aldermen, and mayor. All these important Acts applied, of course, to the whole kingdom; but they none the less effected far-reaching changes in Southampton.

CHAPTER XII

THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA: A. D. 1837–1901

1. A Period of Rapid Development

It is probable that historians in times to come, when they look back over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, will speak of the long epoch of the reign of Queen Victoria as one of the most remarkable in the annals of the world's progress. In four or five different directions it saw a movement and an advance without equal in any preceding age. (1) First and foremost, it saw, not in Britain only but widely throughout the West, the triumph of democracy. In Britain the parliamentary vote, which in 1832 had been given to the middle classes, was extended in 1867 to the artisans in towns, and in 1884 to the labourers in the country districts. In boroughs such as Southampton the franchise was thus made to include all men who were householders or who lived in lodgings for which they paid £10 a year in rent. The supreme power in the state, and the responsibility of governing the British Empire was handed to the lower orders of the British Islands. (2) Further, the reign which witnessed this radical though peaceful revolution witnessed also an expansion both of British dominion and British commerce such as had never been seen before. In India the authority of the old Trading Company was transferred to the Crown, and the authority of the Crown was carried westward till it reached the frontiers of Afghanistan, and till it counted under its sway nearly three hundred millions of men—about one-fifth of the whole human race. In Canada, in Australia, in Africa, pioneers led the way from the original coast-settlements far into the interior and opened up to civilization new and vast provinces and states, rich in all manner of wealth. Commerce enlarged its scope. The means of communication were improved,

so that through the medium of railways, steamships, posts, and telegraphs, the distant parts of the earth were brought near. The barriers of nationality were penetrated, so that the world has increasingly tended to become one vast market. (3) Invention and discovery in a marvellous manner kept pace with expanding empire and enlarging commerce. Science brought under the control of man realms of nature hitherto unclaimed and unknown. The arts were developed, so that the lives of all save the poorest of the people are passed amid surroundings far superior to those amid which their ancestors spent their days. New tools and ingenious appliances are available in every walk of industry in such profusion that the productive energy of workers meets with an immeasurably greater reward than ever before. (4) Movements of thought have not been restricted to the sphere of the practically useful. Knowledge has advanced in all directions with wonderful speed. Men's minds have become more free. Education, once the privilege of the well-to-do, has become a possession open to all. We whose lot has been cast so near the Victorian Age cannot adequately realize its greatness ; but we can see enough to enable us to say that it will hereafter rank with the Renaissance of the fifteenth century as a period of rebirth of the human spirit and renewal of the race.

2. Continued Progress of the Borough

The remarkable developments of the Victorian Age had a greater and more direct effect upon Southampton than upon most English towns. The coming of the steamship companies to the port from 1840 onward, the opening up of railway communication with London and the Midlands, the making of the docks, combined to bring to Southampton even more than her proportionate share of the new commerce and the shifting population. Though figures are generally dry and uninteresting, there is nothing else which shows so clearly and so simply the rapidity of progress. Hence I put down—but without the wish to burden any one's memory—first the census returns, and

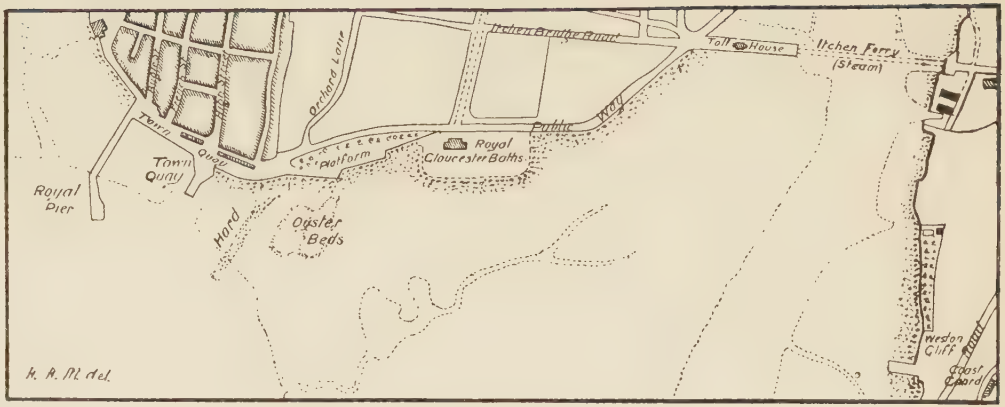

FIG. 18. SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS IN 1837

(*By permission of the Railway Magazine*)

secondly a few facts concerning the trade of the port. The population was as follows :

1831 = 19,324	1871 = 53,747
1841 = 27,744	1881 = 59,916
1851 = 35,305	1891 = 64,899
1861 = 46,960	1901 = 104,824

With regard to the last immense leap from 64,899 to 104,824, however, one important circumstance must be borne in mind. In 1895 to the ten old wards of the town were added the three outlying areas of Banister, Freemantle, and Shirley. In the census of 1901 these 'added areas' contributed 25,547 people, so that the ten original wards showed only 79,277 inhabitants out of the total of 104,824. But even so the increase during the ten years 1891–1901 was well over 14,000, that is nearly twice what the total population of the borough had been in 1801. As to the trade of the port, it may be enough to state that in 1845, when the new railways and docks came into use, the value of the exports from Southampton was about one and a half million pounds sterling, that in 1857 it was five million, in 1880, over nine million.

In order to provide for the growing trade the fine old houses of the earlier Southampton merchants within the walls were converted into offices and warehouses, while far out into the surrounding country residential suburbs began to spread to house the gathering hosts of busy townsfolk. The fine estates which had been the glory of the town in its fashionable days were bought up by the builders, and were laid out in rows of streets. Among the first to go was the Bevois Mount estate. In 1844 the *Hampshire Advertiser* announced that the property which had been 'so long on sale' was at last disposed of, and that it would be 'divided into lots for building purposes'. The names of Mordaunt Road and Earl's Road serve to remind us that where now the useful blocks of red-brick villas stand, there two centuries ago walked amid shadowy glades Peterborough and his hardly less famous friends.

'They say the lion and the lizard keep
The courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep.'

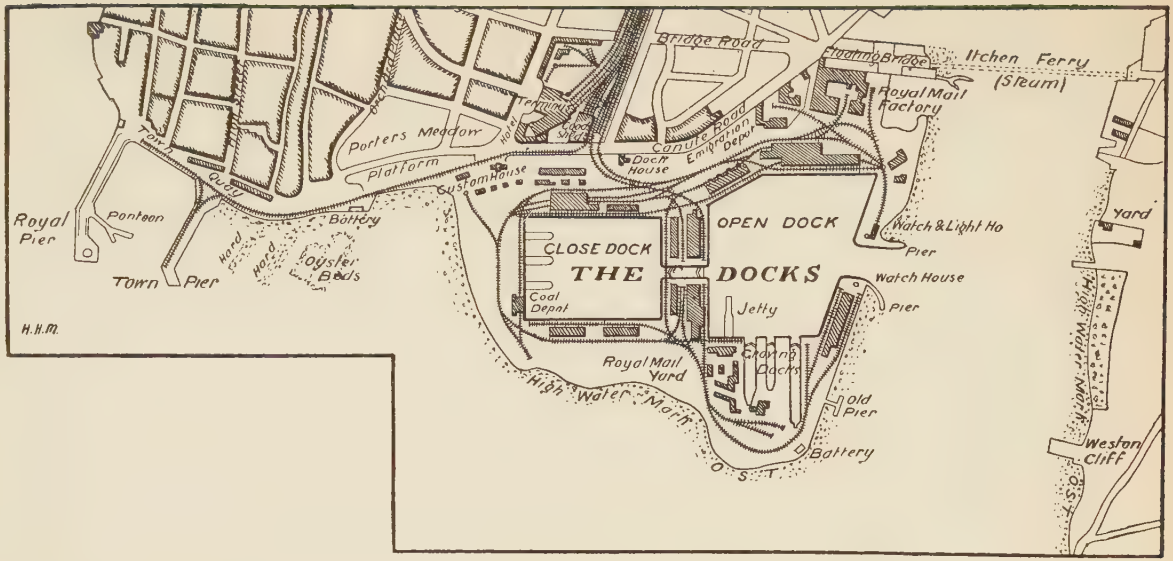

FIG. 19. SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS IN 1867

(*By permission of the Railway Magazine*)

After the Bevois Mount estate had in part been built upon, the speculators seized upon the Freemantle estate, where, in the days of Lady Hesketh, the poet Cowper had been

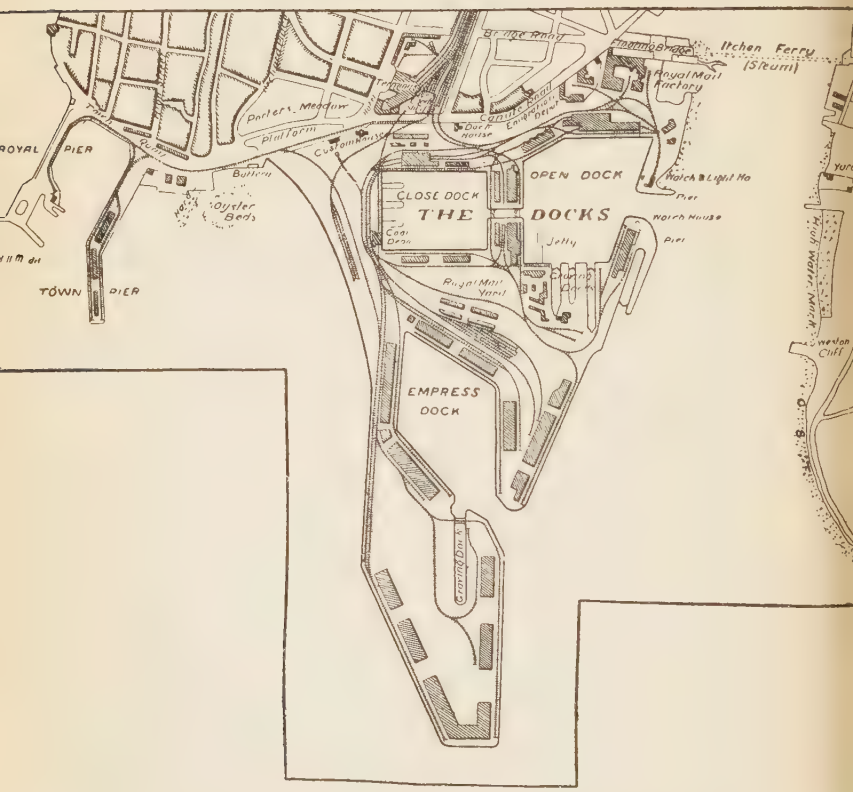

FIG. 20 SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS IN 1897
(*By permission of the Railway Magazine*)

wont to come as guest. Later on a large portion of Banister was secured, while at the same time encroachments were made upon the grounds of Bellevue (where at successive dates had lived Nathanael St. André, physician to George I, Admiral Bligh, the victim of the mutiny of the

Bounty, and the Marchioness Conyngham, well known at the court of George IV), and of Portswood House, built about 1770 by General Stibbert of the East India Company.

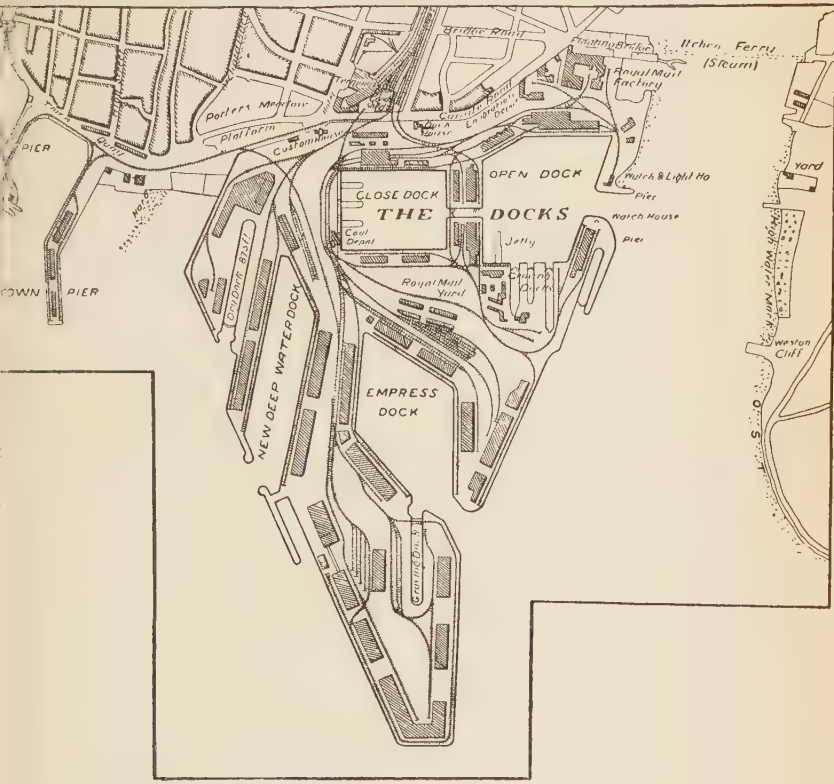

FIG. 21. SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS AT THE PRESENT TIME
(*By permission of the Railway Magazine*)

Meanwhile, the docks opened in 1843 had proved to be inadequate for the growing demands upon their accommodation. Hence, in 1851, the 'Inner Dock' was completed. This was found to be sufficient for a considerable time, but from 1888 the work of extension has been

carried on almost continuously. The ' Empress Dock ' was opened in 1890 ; the ' Prince of Wales ' in 1895 ; and the ' Trafalgar '—the largest graving dock then existing—on the day of the centenary celebration of Nelson's closing victory, Oct. 21, 1905.

3. Conclusion

Space fails me to tell of the many interesting local events which marked Queen Victoria's reign. Are they not written in the books of the chronicles of the era, the back-files of the local press ? Those who wish to gain an insight into the life of the borough and its municipal politics during the nineteenth century should seek permission to turn over the pages of the old volumes of the *Hampshire Advertiser* (founded 1823), the *Hampshire Independent* (founded 1835) and the *Southampton Times* (founded 1860). Here they will find graphic accounts, full of that trivial detail which lends the charm of reality to history, of such events as the visits of the queen in 1843 and 1882 ; the destruction of the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* off Cherbourg in 1864, and the arrival of its Captain Semmes in Southampton ; the death of the famous humourist ' Artemus Ward ' at Radley's Hotel in 1867 ; the furious parliamentary conflict (which furnished George Meredith with material for his *Beauchamp's Career*) between Admiral Maxse and Mr. Merrik Hoare in 1868 ; the founding and development of the Hartley University College ; the co-ordination of the education of the borough ; the opening of churches, the coming of new steamship companies, the wide extension of the activities of the port, together with the thousand-and-one incidents of passing interest which fill up the weeks as they go. Those who thus follow up the history of Southampton until it merges into the stream of current municipal politics can hardly doubt that great as has been the prosperity of the borough during the past century, it will, provided only that the town continues to be governed by wise and strong men, be eclipsed by the prosperity of the greater days to come.

PART II

SOME ASPECTS OF TOWN LIFE

I

MUNICIPAL LIFE

By F. W. Camfield, M.A.

The Charters. In another chapter (Industrial Organization) it is pointed out that towns were at first only villages; there was no corporate life. As these villages increased in size and population they developed into communities, claiming a certain degree of self-government. If the inhabitants of a town found that there were certain advantages to be obtained from the place itself, they naturally desired to keep those advantages for themselves and to prevent outsiders from coming in and sharing them. Accordingly the various towns began to claim and to assert rights and privileges which were jealously guarded. But in order that the townsmen might feel secure in the enjoyment of their privileges it was necessary that these should receive confirmation from the Government of the country. The privileges must be stated in such a way as to admit of no doubt of their existence or their nature. Hence arose the custom on the part of kings of granting to the different towns what were known as charters. These charters formally bestowed upon the various corporations certain rights and privileges; they recognized and defined the duties and responsibilities of the borough officials and the other inhabitants of the town; they stated the amount of the dues to be paid to the king; and in general they dealt with those matters which immediately concerned the people in their town life.

We have in Southampton many of our town charters extant ranging from the one granted by King John to the charter of Charles I, which remained in force until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Many of these charters merely confirmed rights which had long been enjoyed by the town. Indeed the granting of a

charter became at times merely a device for raising money, as the townspeople had to pay whenever a new statement of rights and privileges was granted to them.

The advantages which rising towns obtained from the possession of charters giving them legal and well-defined privileges was of course very great; but there were serious disadvantages which the citizens from time to time suffered in being governed by charter. A prosperous town naturally grows in importance. Its opportunities increase, its scope widens. And so special circumstances demand special treatment. But a charter is something fixed, unchanging, inflexible. The privileges granted by it may be of great use at one stage in the town's growth and of but very little value in another. And the towns at times found themselves exercising powers which were not provided for in the charters, but which had become necessary from the circumstances of the case. When this occurred they were liable to find themselves in trouble with the higher authorities and sometimes had to go to the expense of obtaining a new charter. A further disadvantage in the practice of governing towns by charter lay in the fact that kings were enabled to interfere with the privileges of the citizens, and even to destroy some of those privileges. Both Charles II and James II made an attack on the rights of the borough of Southampton, but the death of the former in 1685, and the flight of the latter in 1688 preserved the privileges of the town intact. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 put an end to the government of the towns by charters, and gave to the ratepayers the power of electing the borough officials.

Classes of the Population. It will now be necessary to inquire a little more closely into the organization of the municipality of Southampton. The population consisted of burgesses, free-commoners, and aliens. These last were often permitted to remain in the town if they were fully able to support themselves, but were pitilessly sent adrift if it seemed likely that they would ever become a burden on the local authorities. The free-commoners consisted of such men as had obtained the right of trading within the borough, but not of taking part in the town's public

affairs. This latter privilege was reserved for the burgesses alone. The burgesses at the first consisted of residents in the town, whose names were enrolled in the borough records, and who contributed towards the rates and dues.

Burgess-ship. The privileges of burgess-ship descended from fathers to their eldest sons. Should such a son desire to become a burgess in his father's lifetime a small fee was due, which, however, was often remitted. Sons other than the eldest were required to pay a fine for the honour, but frequently this too was excused. Other people who wished to enjoy the privileges of burgess-ship had to pay. It would seem as if there were no fixed scale of charges, but that individual cases were considered as they arose. We read in the town records of fines ranging from forty shillings to twenty pounds. The amount to be paid appears to have depended on the wealth of the seeker after burgess-ship. If a rich man made application for the honour he had to give a large sum ; while a lesser fee was required from a poor man. Occasionally men were admitted free, for curious reasons. One such obtained the honour in August, 1557, because he had married an alderman's widow and was well thought of in the town.

Residence within the town was required of the great majority of burgesses. Outsiders, however, were occasionally elected to the dignity of burgess-ship as a compliment to them. These had the right to vote in the elections of the mayor of the town, and of the parliamentary candidates. They were excluded, however, from the meetings of the Town Council. The burgesses at the first elected the mayor of the town ; but they early lost the greater part of their privileges in this direction. In the fifteenth century we find that the mayors themselves had great influence in choosing their successors. On the morning of the day of election the outgoing mayor selected two men, of whom the burgesses chose one. The mayor himself, however, might be re-elected. This method of selecting the town's chief magistrate was not wholly satisfactory to the people, and in the year 1460 there was a riot, neither of the mayor's two candidates

meeting the approbation of the burgesses. Later on arose a custom in connection with the election of the mayor, known as 'private nomination'. On the Friday before August 20, the mayor and aldermen met in the Audit House and nominated four burgesses. The morning of the election—the Friday before Sept. 21—they met again and struck off the names of two of these. The burgesses then voted by ballot on the other two names. But as it was the custom for the mayor to state which of the two men he would like to be chosen, and as his wishes were nearly always respected in this matter, the part which the burgesses played was very slight.

The Mayor. The official thus chosen held a very responsible position, and some of the principal townsmen preferred to pay a heavy fine rather than accept the mayoralty. The amount which the town could claim from any who resolutely refused to serve when elected was £100. Since the office was attended with great responsibilities it seemed only right to men of former days that the holders of it should receive a fee in order to defray the expenses which fell to his position. At the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries the mayor received an annual salary of £10. Later on this was increased to £20; and in addition the mayor had the privilege of making one burgess, and receiving the fine paid for that dignity. This was not, however, considered sufficient, and at a meeting of the Town Council, on Sept. 20, 1617, the salary of the mayor was increased to £50 per annum. Six years later this was reduced to £30. In the year 1830 the mayor received no fee whatever; and of course at the present day no salary is paid to him.

The duties of the mayor grew as the borough increased in importance. He became president of the local courts: the court-leet, the town court, the session court, the pie-powder court, the court of orphans, and the admiralty court. In his hands were vested the duties of regulating the trade of the town, inspecting the weights and measures, and looking to the quality of the wares. On him too fell the responsibility of paying to the king the dues which

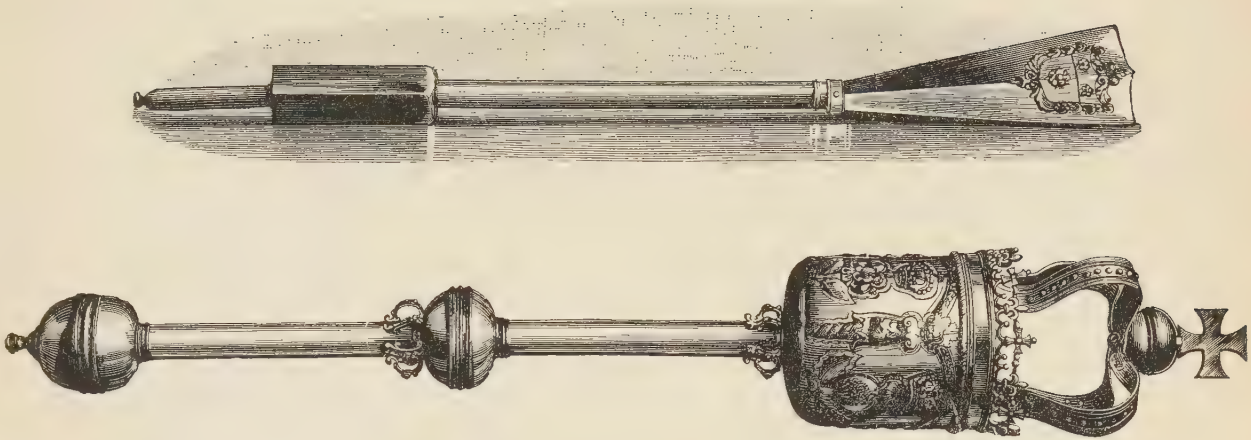

Fig. 22. The Corporation Mace and the Silver Oar

(*By permission of Messrs. George Allen & Sons*)

the town owed. It will be seen that the mayor had no easy position to fill. It is worthy of note that no mayor or ex-mayor could be compelled to serve in the military musters of the town.

The Aldermen. The other officers of the corporation call only for brief mention here. In the early days of the merchant guild the principal dignitary of the corporation was the head alderman. He was frequently styled 'Alderman of the town and guild'. The other aldermen were chiefly concerned with the preservation of order in the borough and the care of the public health. In the year 1402 Henry IV gave the town a charter in which the right of electing four aldermen was granted. Later on this number was increased to six, but frequently there were many more who boasted this dignity. All who had been mayors of the borough received the title of aldermen after their year of office had expired.

The Bailiffs. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the town was ruled by two or three bailiffs. In the seventeenth century there were two bailiffs, the water-bailiff and the bailiff of the court. To-day these officers are known as the junior and senior bailiffs respectively.

The Sheriff. The office of the sheriff dates back to the reign of Henry VI, who granted to the town a charter whereby the town and neighbourhood were made into 'the county of the town of Southampton'. The sheriff is now the second dignitary of the corporation, and he often succeeds to the position of mayor. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the year 1630 a resolution was passed by the Town Council that no sheriff could be nominated for the office of mayor. All who had occupied the position of sheriff were obliged, by a very old custom, to have at hand a gown of crimson cloth, wherewith they might deck themselves on state occasions. The penalty for not possessing this gorgeous robe was £10.

Other Officials. The other prominent officials of the corporation were the recorder and the town-clerk. The former was a lawyer whose main duty it was to keep the town records; but at the first he performed the offices of the town-clerk as well. This latter official was the

clerk of the records. The recorder was a member of the Town Council, which also included the mayor, sheriff, aldermen, and bailiffs, together with all those burgesses who had served these offices.

The Town Council. The Town Council not only performed the duties connected with the government of the borough, as it does at the present day, but in former times it exercised a certain degree of judicial authority. Offenders presented by the beadles or town sergeants for drunkenness, playing unlawful games, breaches of the bye-laws, and other offences of a lesser order were dealt with directly by the Town Council. The punishments inflicted by this body were whipping, fining, ordering the offenders to be put in the stocks with sometimes a paper over their head stating the nature of their offence, ducking and cucking, and caging. Many of these punishments have now become extinct, and the record of some of them serves only to amuse us. It must have been very entertaining to see a troublesome scold fixed in a chair at one end of a kind of see-saw, and then doused under the water. A person too who had been caged must, if at all sensitive, have been greatly hurt by ridicule. One would give a great deal to have reproduced the remarks of passers-by as the cage with its unfortunate inmate was dragged slowly round the town. An offender condemned for his misdeeds to pass a few uncomfortable hours in the stocks found his position far from enviable, as the rougher element greeted him with rotten eggs, dead cats, and other missiles. People in those days were simpler, less civilized, and a good deal rougher than they are to-day. Doubtless the worthy municipal fathers found these punishments prompt and appropriate. It must be remembered that imprisonment was not used in the way in which it is to-day. People believed in short and sharp penalties. It is certainly worthy of mark that certain of the lesser criminal offences were dealt with by the authority of the corporation.

In addition to the meetings of the Common Council the mayor and justices held special court for the hearing of depositions and the detailed examination of witnesses. All kinds of matters were inquired into by this court.

The mariner just returned from a voyage in which he had sustained severe loss and discomfort from the attacks of pirates presented himself before the magistrates and narrated adventures which the modern reader finds highly entertaining. The merchant whose cargo had met with misfortune, either from the attacks of pirates or from wind and storm, or from any other cause, made full and precise statements concerning the venture which he had made. Relations concerning thefts, outrages, brawls, and many other matters were made before the magistrates on these occasions—relations giving valuable light on social life as it existed in former days. It is fortunate for us that the books giving these particulars have been preserved.

The Court-Leet. The most venerable of the law courts connected with the town is the court-leet. Its origin is uncertain, but it emerged into prominence in the reign of Edward I. It was held yearly, and usually met at Cutthorn, a mound on Southampton Common, to the extreme north of the town's boundaries. The court-leet made inquiries into the more serious criminal offences, such as murder, burglary, and arson, but referred such cases to the decisions of the Quarter Sessions or the Assizes. The less serious offences such as brawling, tippling, card playing, petty theft, riot, could be punished by the court. The leet jury also made presentments of common nuisances, the condition of the town's defence, trade regulations, and many other matters of a similar nature.

Other Courts. The other courts of the town call for brief mention. There was a civil court of pleas known as the town court, which can be traced as far back as the reign of Edward IV. The county court dates from the reign of Henry VI, when Southampton and its liberties were made a county. The court of Quarter Sessions was a civil and criminal court, composed of the justices of the town. All kinds of offences were considered by this court, but capital crimes were generally left to the judgement of a higher tribunal. There was one court which was created by the charter of Charles I, namely the

court of orphans. For many years the mayor and corporation had been regarded as standing in the place of parent to those unfortunate children who had lost father and mother, but it was not until the year 1640 that this special court was established. It was under the control of the mayor, bailiffs, and sheriffs, and exercised powers over the persons and goods of orphans.

FIG. 23. CUTTHORN: THE ANCIENT MEETING-PLACE FOR THE COURT-LEET

A special court known as the pie-powder court (see p. 160) existed during the holding of the different fairs within the town. In the Middle Ages most of the trade of the country was carried on at the various fairs, and these were regulated by the pie-powder court.

It has been already pointed out that the mayor held the important position of vice-admiral of the port, that is to say, he was entitled to perform all the duties of admiral within the town of Southampton. A court of admiralty

was held within the town under the presidency of the mayor, and its jurisdiction extended 'from the bridges of Eling and Redbridge down the Southampton Water, and from Botley Bridge down Hamble river into the Southampton Water, thence down to Calshot Castle, and from thence half-seas over to the Isle of Wight from the Iron Hand, which was time out of mind set up at Keyhaven, and down the creek there to Hurst, and thence to Langston Point near Portsmouth, including all the waters, creeks, shores, and maritime places within Hurst and Langston as far up as the first bridges'.[1] This court greatly declined in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was abolished by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.

Modern and Old Southampton. It will easily be imagined that the Southampton of to-day is far different from the Southampton of long ago. To-day it is a large and growing town, with a population of over one hundred and twenty thousand people. In the year 1596 the population was, so it has been judged, about four thousand two hundred; whilst at the beginning of the nineteenth century it had not reached eight thousand. Whereas to-day the residential parts of Southampton stretch far out into the surrounding country, the houses of wealthy men in former times were situated within the small space guarded by the town's seven gates (Bargate, West Gate, South Castle or God's House Gate, East Gate, Castle Gate, Blue Anchor Gate, Biddle Gate). As late as the year 1799 a small Nonconformist congregation decided to leave their chapel in St. Mary's Street, and to remove to East Street, because they felt that they were 'too far out of town'. To-day we boast of our broad, well-paved, and cleanly swept streets, brilliantly lighted at night-time with electric light. In former days the streets were narrow, ill-paved, and filthy, and any one who ventured out after dark picked his difficult way along by means of a candle or a lanthorn. Filth was often

[1] Speed's *History of Southampton*, quoted by Rev. J. Davies in his *History of Southampton*, p. 242.

emptied into the street, pigs not infrequently wandered at large through the main thoroughfares, and noxious stenches arising from the insufficiently regulated labours of brewers, butchers, and pig-dealers, made the air often very disagreeable. Occasional and quite insufficient attempts were made to deal with the questions which now affect our corporations. Rating was only in its infancy. It would appear as if there were no fixed system of rating, but one would judge, from the perusal of the records, that people grumbled pretty much as they do to-day when called upon to pay their rates. Of sanitation little was known, and plagues, caused largely by the filthy habits of the people, constantly appeared and wrought dreadful havoc. The proper duties of municipal governments are better understood to-day than formerly they were, and as a result, the health, safety, and comfort of people have been greatly improved.

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II

THE COMMERCE OF SOUTHAMPTON

By F. W. Camfield, M.A.

Interest of the Subject. There are many circumstances which make the history of commerce in Southampton a most interesting topic. The different classes of traders, the many and varied articles of commercial enterprise, and the risk and excitement attending mercantile marine, contribute to the fascination of the theme. Southampton, in its palmy days, was a resort for the traders of many different nationalities. For instance, in the reigns of William I and of his immediate successors, the town was visited by many Normans, who found the nearness of Southampton to their own country very advantageous for their commercial projects. Later on, the port attracted Venetian merchants, who drove a thriving trade in wool with the inhabitants of our ancient borough. In the Middle Ages, especially during the reign of Edward II, there was a close connexion between England and Italy, and English people not only profited by engaging in commerce with the Italians, but frequently laid themselves open to satire by imitating Italian manners and customs. Many Frenchmen, too, were often seen in Southampton, who had come over for the purpose of engaging in the wine and wool trades ; whilst in the reigns of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts there were in the town not a few Dutchmen, who sought in England the freedom and safety which they lacked in their own country. The different nationalities represented among the trading classes of Southampton impart considerable interest to the record of its industrial and commercial life.

This interest is heightened by the accounts which we possess of the many different goods in which Southampton merchants trafficked. For instance, in the seventeenth

century, two of Southampton's most important traders sent their vessels abroad to bring back articles so different from one another as canvas, Spanish wine, oil, ginger, almonds, raisins, figs, and fish. And in the year 1619, when a special tax was laid upon the imports of Southampton, money had to be paid upon canvas, white cloth, French wine, raisins, Spanish oils, sugar, train oil, Spanish wine, Newfoundland fish, Spanish and French salt, rape oil, and prunes. When we remember that Southampton at that time was only a small town, with less than 6,000 inhabitants, we obtain some idea of the varied interest of its commercial undertakings.

But it is the risk and peril attending commercial activity in bygone days which impart the most thrilling interest to the ventures which Southampton merchants put forth. And it is very fortunate for us that in our documents we have accounts of the statements which merchants, harassed by unfavourable weather and angry seas, or by the audacious attacks of pirates, made before the Southampton magistrates. Even the dry details concerning bills of lading, the weight and price of goods, Navigation Acts, and other matters which concerned those engaged in mercantile marine, lose their dullness when they are connected with stirring stories of adventure with English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Algerine pirates, who made it very exciting, if not very safe, on the high seas.

The Wine Trade. Southampton appears to have sprung into prosperity for the first time during the reigns of the Norman kings. A thriving trade in French wine was carried on between Southampton and Bordeaux and Bayonne. Indeed, wine appears to have been one of the principal commodities which contributed towards the prosperity of the town ; for many years later, when the trade of Southampton seemed to be falling off, and the town began to decay, Queen Mary issued a special grant, which enacted that all sweet wines of the growth of Candia and Retimo, and all the Levant ports, were to be landed here. The penalty which any merchant who took any such wines elsewhere had to pay was twenty shillings for every butt ; and of this fine one-half went to the town. It was found

very difficult in practice to enforce this enactment, but the town continued to derive a yearly income from sweet wines, although by the end of the eighteenth century that income was very small (in the year 1770 it had fallen as low as £20). There are many cellars and vaults in the lower parts of Southampton in which the wine was stored, and the mayor and corporation kept a good supply of this commodity for special events. Presents of wine were frequently made by the borough officials to great men whose favour they wished to secure. Whenever an important case in which Southampton merchants were specially concerned came before the Law Courts, the most appropriate gift which they thought they could make to those in authority was a present of wine ; or whenever a nobleman passed through Southampton whose good graces the officials were anxious to win, care was taken that he should not suffer from thirst.

The Wool Trade. Perhaps the chief commodity in which Southampton merchants traded was wool. The sheep which grazed on the hills and downs of Hampshire and the neighbouring counties, and even those which were kept among the Cotswold hills of Gloucester, supplied wool which was sent to Southampton for export. It was in the reign of Edward I that the town first became famous for the export of wool ; and in Edward II's time Southampton was made one of eight ports from which alone wool might be exported. During the rule of his son, Edward III, a great attempt was made to encourage the manufacture of woollen goods in England, and the export of wool was for a time forbidden. Only, however, for a time, for shortly afterwards the woollen trade received a great impetus through the annual visits of Italian merchants. The Venetians came to Southampton first of all about the time of Edward II, chiefly in search of raw wool. It will be remembered that after Calais had been taken from the French by Edward III, he ordered that all wool exported from this country should pass through that town. This was found to be very inconvenient to the Venetian and Genoese merchants, who controlled almost entirely the trade of the Mediterranean. A great advantage was

secured to them in the year 1378, when they were excused from calling at Calais, and permitted to carry their commodities straight to their destination. Every year, for a long period, Venetian 'galleys' and Genoese 'carracks' came to Southampton; and their regular visits only ended in the reign of Henry VIII, who forbade the ex-

Fig. 24. The Slavonic Stone: North Stoneham Church

portation of wool. This prohibition struck a heavy blow at the Levant trade, and marked the beginning of the decline of Southampton's prosperity.

Hampton Serges. This decline was, in some measure, arrested by the settlement in Southampton during the reign of Elizabeth of Dutch refugees. These came over in considerable numbers to England as a haven of safety and liberty from their own country, which was seething

with religious persecution and civil war. The borough officials of Southampton asked the queen to permit some of the foreigners to take up their residence within the town. The request was granted, and the Dutch settlers appear to have been of considerable assistance in raising the falling fortunes of Southampton by the manufacture of ' Hampton serges '.

These serges became quite notable articles of export during the early part of the seventeenth century. There are constant references to them in the Southampton documents. ' Serges of the making and dyeing of Southampton '—' broad serges colour black '—' small serges colour white '—' one pack of small serges . . . conteyning nyne peices one of them a scarlett two other white and the other six black,'—such are a few of the numerous references in the borough documents to Southampton serges. It is evident that the town owed not a little to these industrious foreigners, although the people were very unwilling to own that such was the case.

The Mercantile Theory. In dealing with the commercial history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a new class of facts has to be taken into account. The sixteenth century was an era of discovery and adventure. New territories and previously unknown passages were opened up by the persistence and pluck of our seamen. In the seventeenth century colonization began in real earnest. And accordingly the trader found himself in possession of a wider field for the exercise of his activities. The question would naturally arise as to how far the increased scope for commercial undertakings contributed towards the well-being of the country as a whole. People in those days considered that certain kinds of wealth contributed to national power, while other kinds, however advantageous to individuals, really lessened the prosperity of the country. Hence arose the great influence of what is known as the mercantile theory. According to this theory, trade should be so regulated as to increase the power and prosperity of the country as a whole, and men should be restrained from engaging in commercial undertakings which, however profitable to themselves, did not promote

the efficiency and well-being of the nation as a whole. Now national power was believed to depend mainly upon three things: firstly, the accumulation of treasure—of money; secondly, the development of shipping; and thirdly, the keeping up of an effective population. It depended on the accumulation of treasure, because in those days it was necessary that the Government should be able to lay hands, at any time, upon a large amount of actual coin; on the development of shipping, inasmuch as a large body of able-bodied men ready to serve their country when occasion demanded it would thus be maintained; and on the keeping up of an increasing population, which was rightly regarded as a sign of increasing national prosperity.

Fisheries. Now of all forms of commercial activity which the Government encouraged as eminently contributory to national power, one of the most important was that connected with fisheries. Fisheries were regarded as grand schools for seamanship. 'By w^{ch} occasion (wrote the borough authorities in 1636) many young seamen are bredd up and many hundreds of poore Mariners theire wives and families maintained.'

For many years Southampton was the principal starting place for the fisheries of Newfoundland. These were very valuable, and every year vessels from English and foreign harbours visited them. Southampton merchants frequently fitted out vessels for the Newfoundland fisheries, and these vessels often brought back considerable hauls. A sailor of a Southampton ship called the *Amitie* brought home in 1630, 'eight score thousand of good and m^{er}-chantable Newfoundland fish,' which he caught between the latter part of April and the earlier part of July. Later on several sailors belonging to the *Unitie* of Southampton suffered shipwreck off Dorset, and down went their cargo of 'fortie eight thousand of dry fish; fower thousand and an halfe of codde fish; and seaven tonnes and an half of trayne'. In the next year the magistrates of the town were informed that a Southampton vessel received on board at Newfoundland, 'one hundred twenty and two thousand of good and m^{er}chantable dry New-

foundland fish.' These fish were valued at six pounds per thousand, and accordingly the whole cargo was worth as much as £732. These details suffice to illustrate the great importance of the Newfoundland fisheries to the commerce of Southampton. The town remained the principal starting-place for the fisheries down to the middle of the eighteenth century, when Poole, which had long been its rival, obtained the greater part of the trade.

Sugar and Tobacco. Among the articles of lesser importance in which Southampton merchants traded with the New World were sugar and tobacco. London and Bristol were the principal places for the import of sugar from the West India Islands, but Southampton had its share in the trade. Tobacco from Virginia was also an important article of commerce.

Miscellaneous Commerce. Southampton merchants traded also in ginger, cotton, indigo, elephants' teeth, and appear to have taken their share in the continually widening commerce of the New World. In spite, however, of all this, the town was not so wealthy as it had been during the palmy days of the Venetian trade, and its prosperity was in a state of decline throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Expedients for arresting the decline of the town. The borough authorities tried various expedients for the improvement of this condition of affairs. After the great fire of London they invited merchants whose houses and places of business had been destroyed in that disaster to come to Southampton and carry on their trade here. It is not easy to say whether any considerable response was made to this invitation, but it may be asserted that not much improvement in the condition of the town resulted ; for about one hundred years later the Corporation were offering the position of burgess-ship to all merchants who would take up their residence in Southampton. The modern prosperity of the town dates from the establishment of the railway, and the construction of the docks.

Difficulties of Mercantile Marine. It need hardly be pointed out that commercial enterprise was more difficult and more risky in former days than now it is. The vessels

Fig. 25. The Old Pier in 1817 (notice the entrance to the Redbridge Canal)

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which transported the merchandise from one country to another were very small, and took a long time in making their journeys. An analysis of two important borough documents, which contain many interesting sidelights on the trade of the town in the days of the early Stuarts, reveals the fact that the Southampton vessels varied in their tonnage from eighteen to one hundred tons burden. A London vessel of four hundred tons is mentioned. These ships took many days over a voyage which to us would be but short. Thus in 1636 a vessel started from Southampton in the month of May for a fishing expedition to the Newfoundlands. It reached its destination 'in or about the moneth of August then followinge'. Having received a cargo from the various English mariners stationed there for the fishing season, it proceeded to Bilbao in Spain, which it reached 'neare about the month of Oct.' An interesting fact about these ships is that they were frequently held by several men in part ownership. A man would possess one-half or one-third of a vessel, and would trade with that portion, so it appears, independently of the other owners of the ships. Portions as small as $\frac{1}{32}$ of a vessel were occasionally purchased.

It has been already remarked that commercial enterprise in former days was accompanied by great and serious dangers. The merchant had to run many risks from wind and storm, and from the constant attacks of pirates. Shipwrecks of course are not peculiar to any age; but the small ill-equipped vessels were not able to hold their own in a stormy sea as many of our ships frequently do. 'Virginia is known to all mariners that have used that coast to be usually and for the most p^{te} accompanied with extreme ffowle weather.'

Piracy. But serious as the damage sustained through unfavourable weather must have been, the losses which accrued to merchants through the attacks and outrages of pirates appear to have been far more serious. Many a merchant prince must have spent a sleepless night in wondering whether his cargo would reach its destination free from the attacks of these audacious robbers. The sailors who manned the vessels must have been in a con-

stant state of disagreeable excitement. The seas literally swarmed with pirates—English, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Turkish. We read of piracies in the Mediterranean, in the Bay of Biscay, in the English Channel, in Southampton Water itself. It would be possible to fill the space allotted to this chapter many times over with accounts from the lips of unfortunate mariners of attacks from pirates which they had sustained. Occasionally the royal vessels succeeded in capturing numbers of these sea-robbers, who were then summarily dispatched, and their bodies hung in chains as a warning to others. Southampton, in the year 1619 was required to raise a sum of £300 in order to help fit out a fleet to proceed against the Algerine pirates ; and this amount was eventually paid. Turkish and Algerine pirates were the most dreaded, because they included in their number some of the worst desperadoes from all parts of Europe, and also because they flung their victims into a cruel slavery. Two facts will help us to realize the danger to commercial enterprise which the existence of these sea-robbers constituted. Between the years 1609 and 1616, 466 of our merchant vessels were seized by Turkish pirates ; and in 1625, 1,000 of our men were flung into slavery, and a capture of twenty-seven vessels was made in ten days.

A description of a fight at sea, in which a Southampton vessel, known as the *Pearl*, was engaged with Turkish pirates, may be of interest in this connexion. Thomas Bazill, the master of the ship, and John Knight, one of the company, stated before the Southampton magistrates that on Oct. 4th, 1640, they set sail from Plymouth on a voyage to the Canary Islands. On Nov. 17th they ' made the Mederies and, the wind being east and by south, they steered away to the westwards of the Mederies for feare of theire enemies.' The next day they sighted the Canary Islands at a distance of about five leagues, and the following morning they saw three ships about three leagues off. The day was clear and calm, so that those on board the three ships could see the English vessel, and ' put forth theire boates full of men with brasse bases and muskets and rowed to them (the English sailors) and came within

saile of them, and asked whence they were ; who answered " Of England ", then theire enemies said " Amaine for Angeive " and shot at them, but they kept them off with theire guns, murderers, and muskets as well as they could from eight of the clock in the morning till foure in the afternoon in w^ch^ space they showed to these deponents the flag of truce twice but they would not yield.' As the fury of the fight increased the wind rose, ' insomuch that theire enimies came upon them with theire ships so that they were constrained to lett flie all theire force at once and give them some spoile, soe that thereby they had a little time to throw theire boate overboard and got into it and rowed for the shore.' The Turks on seeing this gave chase, shooting at them all the way, ' but it pleased God they recov^d^ the shoare, yet notwithstanding they pursued soe close after them on the shore, and carried away the master's mate.' When the English sailors reached the shore, they saw a man fishing, who upon catching sight of the Turks decided that discretion was the better part of valour, and ran away, ' and they followed the fisherman and soe got clear or els they had been taken all.' They then went up on the mountains to see the fate of their vessel, and ' in a short time the three boats made aboard the ship of these deponents, and towed her to theire owne ships and the next morning these deponents saw the three ships and theire owne vessel at theire starne.' Their loss was serious, but it was fortunate for them that they did not share the fate of their vessel and fall into the hands of the Turks. Had they done so they would in all probability have been made slaves.

It will be seen that merchants in former times had to carry on their ventures with far greater risk than that which falls to the lot of men to-day. We enjoy comparative security—and that is everything to the man of commerce.

III

THE INDUSTRIES OF SOUTHAMPTON

By F. W. Camfield, M.A.

If a modern tradesman one day found himself transplanted to the England of the Middle Ages, he would certainly rub his eyes and wonder what sort of a land it was that he had suddenly entered. And it would take him a very long time to accustom himself to the altered circumstances. He would discover that instead of being free, within certain very broad limits, to trade as he wished, he would have to submit to a great number of restrictions, which would seriously hamper him in prosecuting his business. If he came to grief at Southampton and desired to set up for himself (say) at Salisbury, he would find that he would not be allowed to do so, until he had gone through a number of formalities, and declared his readiness to obey a stringent code of rules. If he desired to employ labour, he would discover that he must submit to customs which prescribed for him the nature of the labour and the wages of the labourers. Whilst if he wished to abandon one kind of industry and take up another, he would find it by no means easy to do so. In short, he would learn that in former days commerce was strictly protective. Men's ideas on what we now call political economy supported the efforts, not merely of those who made laws to prevent foreign competition, but also of those who attempted to prevent outsiders from coming in and taking possession of the trade of the various boroughs and towns.

The Guilds. Now, at the first, towns were merely large villages ; they had no corporate existence. That is to say, they consisted merely of people who lived in the same locality, but with no other bond of connexion between them. These people used to pay certain tributes known

as ' scot and lot ', and accordingly they were very anxious to keep outsiders, who did not pay these tributes, from having any share in the trade of the town. Hence arose, all over the country, what are known as merchant guilds. These guilds were established for the purpose of promoting good feeling among those who were prepared to become members, and to keep a tight hold on the trade of the immediate neighbourhood.

It seems most probable that these guilds became the governing bodies of the towns. In Southampton, almost certainly, the guild was identical with the municipality, as the guild ordinances show. The ordinances of the guild were the town's bye-laws, the officers of the guild were the borough authorities. The burgess *was* the guildsman, and he, together with the man of the franchise, who shared the commercial benefits, but not the local government of the town, was the only one who might ply his craft within our ancient walls. All others were aliens, whose very presence in the town was barely tolerated. And this condition of things which prevailed at Southampton seems to have been general throughout the country. Although there was no inherent necessity in the constitution of the guilds that they should be the same as the governing body of the towns, it seems likely that they were so in most instances.

The Craft Guilds. Within these merchant guilds, and sometimes even in opposition to them, there sprang up associations of men engaged in the production and distribution of the various articles of commerce. Thus there were companies of tailors, of blacksmiths, of butchers, and so on. These craft guilds, as they were called, kept a tight hold on the particular branches of industry which they were organized to promote, and, to the utmost of their power, strove to prevent any who were not members of their companies from sharing in the trade of the locality. Now, in the sixteenth century, the power of the guilds steadily decreased. They no longer fulfilled the objects for which they had been created. They failed in keeping under control apprentices ; and they failed, conspicuously, in properly supervising wares, and keeping up the quality of workmanship.

Later Trade Companies. Accordingly their places were taken by trade companies, to which special privileges were granted by the Crown, or by Parliament, or as in the case of the Southampton associations, by the municipality. These companies had many points of similarity to the old craft guilds, in some cases indeed being the continuation of those guilds. In Southampton they were absolutely under the control of the town authorities. It was the borough officials whose permission was necessary for the formation of a company, whose consent had to be obtained for all the rules which governed it, and whose help against the alien or outsider was eagerly sought. Every year the mayor, and a number of the aldermen and assistants of the town, met together to hear from the wardens of the companies a statement of the money received and spent. The fines paid by craftsmen who broke the rules went, one half to the company, and the other half to the town. Apprentices had to be enrolled before the town clerk, and it was he who drew up the indentures. When apprentices had served their term they usually wished to be made freemen, that is to say, they wished to be at liberty to engage in their trade in the town. To do this they were compelled to appear before the borough authorities and take the oath which was appointed for freemen. The authority of the town officials had to be clearly recognized and obeyed by the members of the various trade companies. There were companies of bakers, of barbers, of brewers, of butchers, of tailors, of shoemakers, of chandlers, of cobblers, of coopers—nearly all the industries of the town were carried on by companies.

In the old craft guilds three classes of workers were recognized, viz. apprentices, those who had finished their apprenticeship but who had not yet attained to the position of masters, and masters. The second of these divisions afterwards developed into the journeyman class ; but in earlier times it was considered that every apprentice might hope in due time to become a master man. Later on, it became clear that this could not be, and thus arose the journeymen.

The Apprentices. The apprenticing of children to the

various arts and crafts gave not a little difficulty to those who made laws for the regulation of industry and commerce. Seven years' apprenticeship was required of all artisans. It was not always found possible to enforce this requirement; indeed the difficulty found in doing this had proved too much for the old craft guilds. The town authorities did their very best to carry out the Act of

Fig. 26. The Town Bushel (granted by Henry VII)

Apprentices. Orders were given that the names of all apprentices should be entered by the town-clerk in a book kept specially for the purpose; and every master who neglected this rule had to pay a somewhat heavy fine. The apprentice who had served his term was to be presented by his master before the town authorities in order to be made a freeman. For his freedom he had to pay a fine to the overseers of his company, and a smaller one to the town-clerk 'for entringe and recording his free-

dom '. Again, there was a rule that none, excepting those who had served a seven years' apprenticeship, might set up a shop unless special permission had been granted. None were to receive any instruction in any of the trades unless they had been duly bound and enrolled apprentices. It is evident that the town authorities were very anxious to enforce the Act of Apprentices.

The Journeymen. Now, it is an obvious fact that the labour of apprentices was very cheap, and masters were sometimes tempted to take on a great number of apprentices instead of engaging workmen who would require a living wage. This, however, produced unemployment among the labourers ; and, besides this, the association of numbers of apprentices was a frequent cause of disorder. Accordingly, by a famous law passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was enacted that a master should employ one journeyman to every three apprentices. Sometimes the town made rules which went even further than this law. In 1609 orders were given that no serge-weaver belonging to the Southampton company should keep two apprentices to work together. It was alleged that there were many journeymen in the town who would be without employment if masters overstocked their shops with apprentices. In the Southampton companies the masters tried to draw all their journeymen from those who had served apprenticeship in the town. This, however, was found impossible, and the foreigner had sometimes to be admitted. When the latter had obtained the necessary permission to receive employment in Southampton, he had to pay a fine to the borough authorities, and another to the wardens of the company to which he was attached. In some of the trades the rules respecting journeymen were even more stringent. The masters of the shoemakers' craft, for instance, in the seventeenth century had to obtain consent for the employment of foreign workmen every three months ; and in the case of the weavers' company, the worker himself had to pay a small additional fee at the end of each similar period.

The Masters. It will be unnecessary to say much about the third class of workers included in the company, viz.

the masters. None were allowed to open shop who had not previously served a seven years' apprenticeship within the town, unless a permission, for which a substantial fine was assigned, had been obtained from the borough authorities and the wardens of the craft. The masters were absolutely responsible for the lives and conduct of their apprentices, and there were not a few who treated them with great harshness and cruelty. It is most distressing to reflect upon the hardness of the lot of those apprentices who had severe and unfeeling masters. There is a story told in one of the town records which illustrates the unfortunate condition of such apprentices. Thomas Baverstock, William Rosseter, and Stephen Terrey, three apprentices to a glover named Robert Hill, were examined before the Southampton magistrates on the charge of stealing two lambs. This offence was punishable by hanging. Thomas Baverstock gave an account of the theft, and brought forward as an excuse that 'they were not allowed victuall enough from theire said master to satisfie theire hunger; alsoe—theire master hath whipped them starke naked for asking victuall of the neighbours. And further that theire master makes them to worke on the Sundayes, and hath beaten them for not working or being loth to worke on the Sundaies'. This odious picture is not relieved by the statement of Stephen Terrey, one of the other culprits: 'He saith that theire master hath whipt them for begging bread of the neighbours, and that hee whipt them alsoe for stealinge the said lambes, and that hee hath made them to whippe one another with rodds and unles they would doe yt there Mr. would stand by and whippe them.' It is to be feared that the lives of many apprentices were made miserable by the greedy and cruel natures of those who were their absolute masters.

The trade corporations lost their exclusive powers in the eighteenth century. The ideas of men upon trade began to widen as English industry developed; and the extraordinary number of mechanical inventions changed the nature of commerce. The freedom which we now enjoy in our various mercantile enterprises makes it all

the more difficult for us to realize the very different conditions which attended industrial activity in former days.

The Fairs. There is one other feature of industrial life which existed almost to within our own times, and of which brief mention must be made ; and that is the existence of fairs or markets. During the times of these fairs, all subjects of the king were allowed free entrance into the town, and permission to share in the trade of the market. The most celebrated fair in Southampton was Trinity or Chapel Fair. This fair lasted for about four days, though now it only occupies one, and the time of its continuance marked quite a festive period in the life of the town. The mayor and corporation opened the market with considerable pomp, and it was then left in charge of the senior bailiff. This official was president of the court of ' pie-poudre ', a court which settled all disputes which arose in the course of the fair. It is not easy to say when this fair was first held. Henry VIII gave to the town letters patent giving permission to hold this market, but it seems likely that in so doing he merely confirmed privileges which had long been enjoyed. We have records of three other fairs which have now totally disappeared from our town life—St. Mark's or Above Bar Fair, St. Andrew's Fair, and Shrove Fair. Each of these lasted for three days, and was carried on in the same way as Trinity Fair. They must have been welcome events in the somewhat sleepy lives of the townspeople ; whilst they served a useful purpose in bringing together people of different towns and districts, and widening the narrow outlook which characterized most men in those times.

IV

STREETS AND ROADS OF SOUTHAMPTON

By George F. Darling

I. *Main Road of the Town.* In studying the streets, and roads, and lanes of Southampton, it will be a good plan to observe the district in which they are, the direction they take, and the kind of buildings in them. The reason of their names must also be found out, if possible.

The oldest streets are naturally found within the ancient walled town, which is situated at the south-west corner of the tongue of land between the river Test and the river Itchen. These rivers meet at the south of the town ; and the main road of Southampton, High Street, Above Bar, and London Road, up through the Common to Bassett, is probably the oldest track of this old borough. This was a natural way for people to travel to the port. Formerly the old walls of the town on the west and south stood on the shore, and were washed by the tide. The present shore roads are modern. High Street was for centuries called English Street. It is slightly winding in its course, and reaches from the site of the old Water Gate at the south to the Bar Gate at the north of the walled town. The Town Quay was formerly called Water Gate Quay. This street is still handsome, although the style of the buildings has greatly changed during the last few years. Nearly all the old gabled buildings have gone.

II. *The Old Walled Town.* While walking leisurely up this street one should observe the side streets and lanes. First, on the left, is Porters' Lane, which formerly ran behind the walls to the end of Bugle Street. The name reminds us of the ancient Guild or Company of Porters who used to ply with their barrows between the West Quay and the old Itchen Ferry at Cross House. Their way was through Winkle Street, God's House Gate, and

along the pleasant Beach Road. The porters, when not at work, assembled in Porters' Mead (now called Queen's Park). The Beach Road was lined with trees, of which a few are remaining near the old Platform. A part of this road is named Canute Road, in memory of that Danish king. It was at Canute's Point on this shore that, according to tradition, Canute rebuked his flattering courtiers.

Proceeding up the High Street we should notice Gloucester Square on the right (once the site of a large college of Grey Friars). On the left are Broad Lane, Brewhouse Lane, Market Lane, St. Michael's Street, and West Street, all leading westward into the old French quarter of the town. West Street is the Butcher Row of ancient times, and leads round into Simnel Street (the street of bakers) and Pepper Alley (the street of pepperers or grocers).

French Street, parallel to English Street, was the heart of the French colony. It contains the Church Yard of St. John, the old Trone or Weigh House for the port, and the house which claims to be the birthplace of Doctor Isaac Watts. Another important street is Bugle or Bull Street, in which stood, on the western side, the mansion called Bugle Hall, built by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton. This nobleman was the Chancellor to Henry VIII. North of the site of Bugle Hall, West Gate Street passes through the West Gate to West Quay, which is much older than the Town Quay, and which was a busy centre of mediaeval commerce.

Returning again up Bugle Street we enter St. Michael's Square, and take special notice of the ancient church dedicated to St. Michael, the patron saint of Normandy. Thus we are reminded of the Norman kings of England. On the opposite side of the Square is the fine old Tudor House, with its quaint gables and timber work. Adjoining this is Blue Anchor Lane, which led down to the shore through a postern gate.

North of Simnel Street is the district where formerly stood the Castle, or Old Castle, built on and around a great Saxon mound called Old Castle Hill. Castle Lane, leading from High Street, Castle Square, and Castle Gardens remind us of this ancient fortification ; and Lansdowne

Fig. 27. Old Simnel Street

(*From a drawing by R. M. Lucas, F.R.I.B.A.*)

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Place is in memory of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who bought the Castle in 1805. The County Court building was erected in the gardens, near the Old Castle Gate, in 1851. The top of Old Castle Hill is now occupied by a building which was formerly Zion Chapel. Albion Place leads from High Street to Forty Steps, built about 1840, by which we can descend to the Western Shore Road, and walk to Blechynden and the Millbrook Shore. A part of

Fig. 28. The East Gate

this beach on the west of the town was called Tin Shore. The tin trade greatly flourished at Southampton, and was chiefly carried on at West Quay.

On the eastern side of the High Street there are two very old and important streets leading eastwards to busy suburbs. These are Bridge Street (so named because it led to a bridge over the Ditches), and East Street, which led from All Saints Church to the East Gate of the town. The former is continued by Bernard Street (named after

the contractors), and Bridge Road, over the South Western Railway, across the Marsh Lands to the Floating Bridge at Itchen Ferry. The latter extends into Lower East Street, which, years ago, was called Bag Row. This name reminds us of the corn and brewing trades carried on at one time in these parts. Branching from Lower East Street is Marsh Lane, which leads away across the Marsh. Close at hand is Three Field Lane, which tells of the ancient Common Fields, and the old system of cultivation. In an old map, dated 1771, this lane is named Nightingale Lane.

III. *Along the Eastern Side.* A street leading from Winkle Street to East Street, inside the eastern wall of the town, has the name of Back of the Walls. It was formerly called Behind the Walle. The outside or front of the Wall was defended by deep ditches filled by the tide. The narrow paved lane covering these old ditches goes by the name of The Ditches. It is also called Canal Walk, for here was commenced a canal which was to proceed to Salisbury. In this district outside the Walls, and stretching from East Street to the Beach, there were large gardens with orchards. In time people built dwellings in these parts, and the suburb was known as Neweton (Newtown). The long street through it was called Orchard Lane, or Neweton Lane or Street. At the southern end is God's House Green, or Bowling Green, in which the game of bowls has been played for centuries.

The Town Ditch extended along the eastern and northern sides of the town, and so connected the beach at the Platform with the Western Shore. On the northern side of the Bar Gate a drawbridge spanned the Ditch. The narrow street, now called Bargate Street, was known as Orchard Street when it was formed. In time, the Ditches having been filled in, one patch of water at the north-east remained, and this was known as the Town Pond. The road along its bank was called The Strand, and this name is given to the street in the same place. It was also called Paradise Row, and was once shaded by trees.

York Buildings and Hanover Buildings took their present form in the middle of the eighteenth century. York Gate was then made through the Town Wall. Thus the

old street, Broker Lane, became continued from East Street to the Parks. The early Georgian houses of Hanover Buildings should be observed. This street leads into Above Bar Street. Here we have a full view of the beautiful north front of the Bar Gate. This should be inspected both inside and outside. Over the arches is the Guild Hall, which was formed between the ancient towers in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The lions guarding the Gate formerly stood on pedestals outside the Ditch, which was crossed for a long period by a stone bridge.

IV. *From Bargate to Redbridge.* Leaving this grand old gate, and wending our way northwards along Above Bar Street, we notice on the left hand side the narrow lane called Spa Road. This reminds us of the ' Cherry Gardens or Spa ', for which Southampton was famous in the early days of Queen Victoria, and before. The spring of iron-water is in the old Promenade and Archery Grounds between the Victoria Rooms and the shore. Further along Above Bar is Portland Street, very near which is the narrow Regent Street, one of the oldest tracks of the district.

Opposite Regent Street is another ancient street, Pound Tree Lane, now named Pound Tree Road. A pound or enclosure (an old Saxon institution), for impounding stray cattle, stood in this lane under an elm tree called the Pound Tree. Near this Pound was a public well surrounded by trees, some of which are still standing. It was called the Hound-well, and gave a second name to the lane—Hound-well Lane. A portion of the Parks is still known as Houndwell. This old track led from St. Mary's parish through what is now called Regent Street (formerly called Windmill or Canshut Lane) to the beach along the Western bay of the present town, across the old Rolles brook at a ford called Sidford, to Four Posts, and thence up Four Posts Hill, into a road to Salisbury. Sidford is in the district of Blechynden. Rolles brook means Rollo's brook, and reminds us of the coming of the Danes. Blechynden is also a Scandinavian name. One road to Salisbury goes through Shirley. It is called Shirley Road. From the top of Four Posts Hill another road branches off through Millbrook, and goes to Redbridge, where there was an

ancient ford across the river Test in Saxon times. The place was called Reedford (the ford of reeds). The villages of Shirley, Millbrook, and Redbridge are very old places, and are mentioned in the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror. Branching off from near the foot of Four Posts Hill to the north is Hill Lane, which obtained its name from the ancient village of Hill through which it led. This lane or track existed in Saxon times, and is mentioned in a charter of King Edwy, dated 956, as going by the hedge that belongs to Hampton.

V. *From Burgess Street Southwards.* Hill Lane extends northwards along the western boundary of the Southampton Common, and at last joins the ancient road known by the name of Burgess or Burger's Street, which was the northern boundary of the old borough of Southampton. This street has been a road since the Roman occupation of Britain, and it is interesting to notice the Roman name joined to the Saxon name. In this road well-known stones used to mark the boundaries, viz. the Hode or Woody Cross Stone and Rosemary Stone, both near the Chilworth Gate at the north-west corner of the Common ; and the Burle Stone towards the Swathling end of the road. Near the Upper Common Gate is the famous spot called Cutthorn. At this spot, in very early times, the burgesses of Southampton held their important meetings.

From this historic spot a walk southward through the Common Heath will bring us to the Stag Gates. This was formerly called Padwell Gate, and leads on to Bevois Mount, which was also known as Padwell Hill. Asylum Green, at the bottom of the Avenue, had the name of Padwell Cross. We are reminded of these old place-names by Padwell Road. Bevois Mount was a high mound overlooking the valley of the Itchen. The mound is gone, but the name remains to remind us of the legend of Sir Bevis of Hampton and his henchman Ascupart. Their names are also given to Bevois Street and Ascupart Street in St. Mary's parish. Close by the hill is Bevois Valley.

Nearly two hundred years ago the beautiful estate of Bevois Mount was the property of Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough. This distinguished general is best re-

membered for his actions in the war of the Spanish Succession, especially for compelling the French to raise the siege of Barcelona in 1706. When residing at Bevois Mount House, which is in Lodge Road, he was fond of showing his visitors, who included Voltaire, Pope, and other noted men, around the estate, but only when the tide was up. We are still reminded of this famous nobleman by the names of Mordaunt Road, Earl's Road, and Peterborough Road.

On the western side of the Avenue, opposite Bevois Mount, is Banister Road, leading to Banister Court, which was mentioned in the town books as early as 1474. Further down is Archers' Road, which is named after Archers' Lodge. On this spot some years ago, when archery was a fashionable sport, archers used to meet to practise it.

VI. *Above Bar Street Northwards.* Returning again to Pound Tree Road and Regent Street, and continuing along Above Bar Street northwards, we notice the names of Sussex Place, Anglesea Place, Moira Place, Brunswick Place, Cumberland Place, and Grosvenor Square, all named after famous men of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Marland Place gets its name from the Magdalene's Common Fields or Maudlands or Marlands, which are near at hand. These common lands are now the East Park, the West Park, and the West Marlands. Palmerston Park was formerly the Fair Field. St. Mark's, or Above Bar Fair was held there many years ago. Later it was held in West Marlands, and abolished in 1875. Westward from Prospect Place the Marlands are cut through by Commercial Road, which leads to Four Posts Hill. This road was formed about 1780, superseding the ancient road along the beach, which joined Windmill Lane.

Proceeding up the London Road past the Public Library, St. Paul's Church, and the church of the Saviour, we reach Belle-vue Road, so named from a delightful mansion which a few years ago stood in this part of the town, facing the Avenue. Round this the road winds to Cranbury Place and Newtown.

Opposite Belle-vue is Carlton Crescent, containing handsome houses, and leading to Bedford Place. At the entrance of the Avenue is the Government Survey Office.

These buildings were formerly a Military Asylum for Orphans. On the opposite side of the Avenue is Asylum Green, the site of an ancient pool, having the names of ' Padwell ' and ' Cross Pond '.

VII. *From Asylum Green North-Eastwards.* The position of the Cross Pond is important in connection with the main tracks leading to and from Southampton. From it four principal roads radiate. The old or lower road to Winchester leads first down Rockstone Lane into Bevois Valley. This lane is one of the oldest tracks in the district. It was once a real country lane with high romantic banks along its sides. These were cut away for the building of houses. Formerly the name was Rockesdone Lane. The old road continues through Bevois Valley up Bevois Hill, and through Portswood, with the district of St. Denys on the right, and High Field (or Vane Coppice) on the left. Here two old roads must be noticed. From Portswood Green, close to the tram stables, Highfield Lane winds its way up to the Common ; and, in the opposite direction, St. Denys Road will take us through St. Denys to the site of St. Denys Priory on the right bank of the Itchen, where Cobden Bridge spans the river. This priory, dedicated to St. Denys or St. Dionysius, was founded by Henry I about 1124, four years after the death of his only son, William, in the wreck of the *White Ship.* The king founded it in remembrance of this prince. Two ancient stone coffins from this priory may now be seen at St. Denys Church.

From Bevois Valley, an old road, beginning with Mount Pleasant Road, led to the village of Northam and to Hagestone, one of the borough boundary stones, at Mill Stone Point. ' The Old Farm House ', with the date ' 1611 E.R.', now an ale-house, is a reminder of the ancient manor of Northam, which was granted to the monks of St. Denys in 1151. Branching off southwards from ' The Old Farm House ' a track led to St. Mary's Field. From Hagestone, or Blackworth, a pleasant beach road skirted the river along Belvidere Road to Crabniton, and thence along Marine Parade to the district of Chapel. This has become a populous and busy thoroughfare.

PLAN OF THE TOWN
of
SOUTHAMPTON
1791
SCALE
Surveyed by T. Milton
New Road to Northam Bridge
Houndwell
Houndwell Place
Hoglands
Bellevue Terrace
Portland Terrace
Terminus Terrace
Castle Square
Bellevue Place
Bellevue Street
Portland Street
Terminus Street
Bellevue Terrace

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VIII. *From Asylum Green to the Docks.* Another important road, leading from Asylum Green, is now known as Belle-vue Terrace, St. Mary's Road, and St. Mary's Street. It is the chief thoroughfare of St. Mary's parish. For many years this road, especially the part named St. Mary's Road, was called Love Lane. It was a delightful country lane. Belle-vue Road connects it with London Road, and in the opposite direction Onslow Road joins it to Bevois Valley through Newtown. Proceeding down St. Mary's Road we pass on the right the narrow streets of Charlotte Place (named after the ill-fated Princess Charlotte), and on the left, the new district of Queen's Land. At the bottom of St. Mary's Road is the wide space called the Six Dials. Six roads branch from this spot, and formerly a toll gate stood here. New Road extends to Above Bar Street, Northam Road leads to Northam Bridge over the Itchen, St. Andrew's Road leads to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. The remaining streets making up the six are St. Mark's Road, St. Mary's Street, and St. Mary's Road.

The block of narrow streets situated between St. Mary's Street, North Front, West Front, and South Front (the latter two facing the Parks) is known as Kingsland, and was, perhaps, the King's Land given to the canons of St. Denys by Richard I.

Still going southward, past Clifford Street, Ascupart Street, Bevois Street, Cumberland Street, and Coleman Street, on the left, and a few narrow streets on the right, we reach the Poor House, and St. Mary's Litten, or Churchyard. In it is St. Mary's Church, which was founded probably in the thirteenth century. The residence of the rector of St. Mary's, now called the ' Deanery ', was known in early times as the ' Chantry ', and the lands around, belonging to the Chantry, were called the Chantry Lands. Church lands are also called the Glebe. Not far from the Deanery there are Chantry Road and Glebe Road.

Opposite the Deanery grounds are Cook Street and Evans Street, leading to St. George's Place and the Hoglands. Cook Street is probably named in remembrance of the famous Captain Cook. Evans Street was first

called Duke of York Street, after the Duke of York, a son of King George III.

Passing through St. Mary's Litten, or burial ground, we enter a very old district of Southampton called Chapel. Chapel Road leads eastward across the railway to Marine Parade and American Wharf on the river Itchen. Here, close to the river, were the two chapels of St. Andrew and Holy Trinity. The chapel of Holy Trinity was also called the chapel of St. Mary de Graces, and the chapel of our Lady of Grace ; and the Chapel Road was a causeway built across the low marsh lands, and was known as the 'causey of our Lady of Grace'. From this chapel another causeway extended between the Mill Ponds to Itchen Cross, or Cross House. This was in the direction of Wharf Road. The mill was close to the chapel of Holy Trinity. A century ago Chapel Road was called Chapel Lane. On the south side of it was a small common field or croft, having the name of St. Andrew's Croft. We are reminded of cultivated fields called crofts by a narrow street joining Bevois Street with Crabniton, and named Long Croft Street.

The annual fair called Chapel Fair or Trinity Fair, was for a long time held on the grounds adjoining the 'Chapel of the Holy Trinity and the blessed Mary'. The Fair began on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, and continued for the three days following. The charter allowing the Fair to be held was granted to the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Community of the Town of Southampton, and also to the hermit of the Chapel, in 1496, although the Fair had been held long before.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a considerable tract of land adjoining St. Mary's Churchyard and Chapel Road, of an oblong shape, called Golden Grove, and containing an important residence, Golden Grove House. There is the lane now called Golden Grove, and close by there is Grove Street, to remind us of the pleasant wood which was here many years ago.

IX. *Other Streets.* There are a number of Southampton streets which have come into existence in recent times, whose names remind us of important places, persons, and

events. The building of the Docks and the growth of commerce caused many streets of houses to be erected, and among them Dock Street. The ships of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for years sailed from Southampton ; and the places they traded to are brought to our notice in the names of some streets, such as Oriental Place, Oriental Terrace, Lisbon Road, China Place, Canton Street, and Hong Kong Terrace. Of the great war against the Emperor Napoleon we are reminded by Waterloo Road, Wellington Street, Anglesea Place, Anglesea Terrace, and Paget Street. William Henry Paget, first Marquis of Anglesea, was a distinguished soldier, who served both under Sir John Moore and the Duke of Wellington. Gordon Avenue is named after General Gordon, the hero of Khartoum, whose home was in Rockstone Place in Southampton. Admiral Lord Nelson is commemorated in the names of Nelson Street and Trafalgar Road. Some streets have been named after eminent statesmen : Portland Place, after the Duke of Portland, Prime Minister ; Melbourne Street, after William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne, the first Prime Minister of Queen Victoria ; Peel Street, after Sir Robert Peel ; Aberdeen Road, after Lord Aberdeen, Prime Minister at the time of the Crimean War, which is recalled to us by the name of Alma Road ; Gladstone Terrace, after Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Prime Minister ; Palmerston Road, after Lord Palmerston ; and Forster Road, after Mr. W. E. Forster, famous for the Education Act of 1870. Kent Road reminds us of the Duke and Duchess of Kent ; and Adelaide Road of Queen Adelaide, the consort of William IV. Queen Victoria is remembered by Queen's Street, Victoria Road in Kingsland Place, Victoria Terrace in Compton Walk, and by Empress Road.

The study of streets, lanes, and places, and of their names, will teach us a great deal of history in a very useful and interesting manner. These places and names are memorials ; and, with thoughtful observation and inquiry, we are able to obtain from them much knowledge of our ancestors at different periods of the history of our town, and also of our country.

V

COMMON LANDS OF SOUTHAMPTON

By George F. Darling

If we read the Court-Leet Records of Southampton for the year 1550, in the reign of King Edward VI, we shall find this town called 'Villa Southamptona'; we must therefore ask ourselves what is meant by a 'villa', and why Southampton is so called. Our present idea of a town is of a large collection of houses, arranged in streets and packed rather closely together. But this was not the old idea of a town; and if we carefully study an ancient document made in the year 1254, when Henry III was king, we shall clearly understand the meaning of the words 'town' and 'villa'.

'This is the inquest taken by twenty-four lawful men in the 38th year of King Henry, son of King John, at Shyrlegh before Sir Ronald de Bosco, at that time justice in eyre to the king's majesty, who say upon their oath that this is the town and limit between the forest of Bere and the king's majesty's town of Suthampton: viz. From Achard's bridge (now Four-post bridge) as the way lies northward by the crosses to Cut-thorn, and from Cut-thorn to Burlestone, and from Burlestone to the water course of Furzewells as it goes down to the river Ytchen. Within which bounds and limits of the liberties of the king's majesties town of Suthampton the canons of S. Denys have and hold a certain wood called Portswood by a grant from Richard, formerly king of England, in free, full, and perpetual alms. And this wood is without the Regard and exempt from impeachment of waste. For which wood and the land called Kingsland the aforesaid king remitted one hundred shillings of his farm of the town of Suthampton.'

In 1488 the boundaries of the town or villa are more

clearly defined. ' First, from Barred gate, the north gate of Southampton unto Acorn (otherwise Achard's) bridge and cross, west north west, and from the Acorn bridge and cross unto the Hode cross, north through the village called Hill ; and from the Hode cross to the Cutted-thorn cross, south south east ; and from the Cutted-thorn cross to the Berell stone cross, east, at Burger's street end, and so along Burger's street and through Kinghern or Langherne gate unto Haven stone in Hilton upon the water side, east ; and from Haven stone along as the water lyeth unto Hegstone at Blackworth, south ; and from Hegstone (latterly Millstone) as the water lyeth to Itchenworth (i. e. by the Cross House) south ; and from Itchenworth as the water lyeth to the Maison Dieu (God's House) gate of Southampton, west.'

In this description of the boundaries the town within the walls is not included, for there could be no dispute about the boundaries of that portion.

The town or villa of Southampton, instead of being a small house-covered spot, was, and still is, a very large area, extending over thousands of acres. It was not a house-town or village, but a large township with the people's houses or homesteads mostly gathered into that one part which is now called the Old Town, guarded by the walls, towers, and the Old Castle.

It should be noticed that Southampton is called the king's town. From very early times in Anglo-Saxon England the land was divided into townships. These were held by the king, or by overlords having the title of thegns, and by inferior thegns. In later times the great men who held lands direct from the king were known as barons ; each holder of a village with its lands, was called ' lord of the manor '. The lord of a manor frequently held or tenanted his land from an overlord or baron who demanded certain services in return. The lord of the manor again demanded certain services from the men who held land from him. As long as these services were performed, these men, who were of different ranks socially, could not be deprived of their lands and other rights. Thus it will be seen that even among the Anglo-Saxons

there was a kind of feudal system. William the Conqueror, after he had subdued the country, made the feudal system more severe. He became lord or owner of all the soil of England. In 1085, when the great survey of England was completed and duly recorded in the Domesday Book, the king called together a national assembly of landholders on Salisbury Plain. No less than 60,000 persons are said to have assembled. Here, by a great national act, it was decided that every man should not only be the 'man' of his immediate lord, but also the 'man' of the king. The whole assembly took the oath to William. Thus did he explicitly declare himself to be the supreme overlord of all the soil of England. The barons held their great estates direct from the king, and were called tenants-in-chief. Others held lands from these barons. Thus we come down to the lords of single manors, and below these again to various classes of men having smaller holdings. Of course no man could hold land for nothing. In return for his holding he was obliged to render certain feudal services. How did this land system begin in England, and when did it begin ?

When the Anglo-Saxons invaded this country they already found many clearings made in the primeval forests, and people settled in some organized way upon the land. They took advantage of these clearings and made others. Families or groups of families then established themselves in village communities.

The planting of English village communities can be clearly deduced from the names of places at the present time. English place-names often have the endings 'ing', 'field', 'ham', 'worth', and 'ton'. Reading was the town of the Redingas, the sons of Rede. Ardington, in Berkshire, was the town of the Ardings, the royal race of the Vandals. Wolsingham was the 'ham' or home of the Frankish Walsings. Basing, in Hants, was the town of the Basings. Allington was the town of the Aelings. Bellinger was the town of the Bellings.

An English village community contained the following divisions :

1. The village, which was generally one street of sepa-

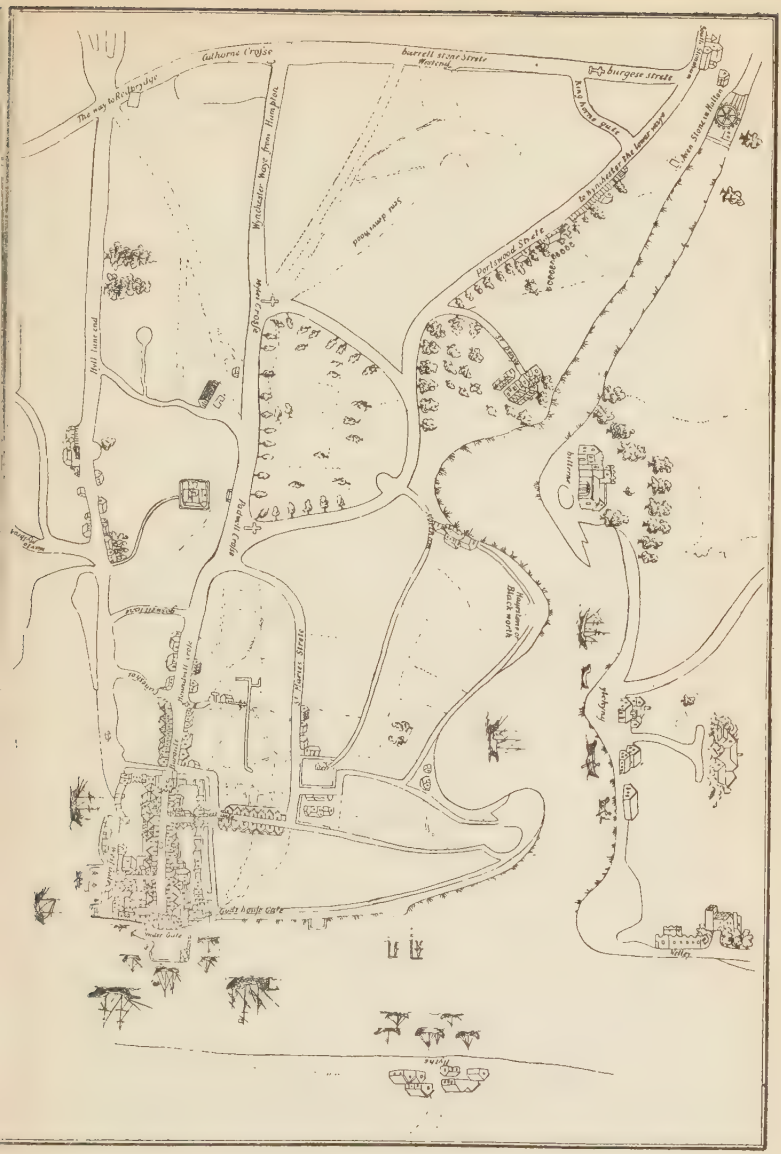

FIG. 30. SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MAP OF SOUTHAMPTON (SHOWING BOUNDARIES AND COMMON LANDS)

rate dwellings, each with its little croft or garden. These crofts can often still be seen, but changed into back courts of cottages.

2. A good area of ground specially enclosed and tilled for the growth of rich grass for rearing calves and baiting farm stock. This was the common farmstead. At the proper time this grass field was often 'stinted', i. e. divided into strips by light temporary fences, so that each man might have his proper share of rich grass.

3. The arable land, where the villagers grew their corn and other vegetables.

4. The common meadow or pasture land, held by the whole community, into which each family could turn their cattle, subject to the regulations of an officer elected by the people.

5. The waste and wood, where the people cut their timber and fuel, and pastured their pigs.

The arable land was divided into three large fields, in which the rotation of crops was strictly enforced, each field lying fallow once in three years. These fields again were subdivided into fields called shots or furlongs. These again were cut up into narrow strips containing an acre or half-acre, and separated from each other by a foot or so of unploughed land called a balk. Such a balk on a hillside became a ridge, and was then commonly called a linch. To each freeman was assigned his own family lot of small strips scattered about the fields. These arable fields were subjected to a uniform system of tillage in triennial succession of fallow, barley, oats, and beans, but rarely wheat or rye.

The lord's demesne, or home farm, was made up of some enclosures, called closes, of the richer meadow land, and some strips of arable mixed with those of his tenants. The better class tenants had their homesteads in the village, each standing in its own toft or croft.

It is very important to remember that, although the lord, living in his manor house, exercised his ruling power over the whole manor or township, he himself was also one of the community. The lord and all the people under him together formed the village community. The village com-

munities, and, in later times, the manors, were governed by laws and customs. These were registered, tried, and arranged by all concerned in law courts called manorial courts, where also law-breakers were brought to trial. These courts are still held in some parts of the country, although they are not so important as they used to be.

The remains of the common-field system are still evident in many parts of the country; the fields being termed 'lot meadows' or 'Lammas lands'. Our commons too, many of which remain in spite of numerous enclosures, are evidences of the communal life of our village forefathers.

How long the free democratic village communities of early England remained we do not know. Gradually a change came over them, and the manorial system grew up. Although 'manor' is a Norman word, we find that manors existed in England before the Normans came. This system was in full force in the time of King Canute.

This great change probably took place gradually on account of the warfare going on between the English kingdoms, and also on account of the struggles with the Danes.

Saxon society, up to about the year 700, was divided into two main divisions:

1. The eorls, who were men of noble (i. e. known) birth, whose ancestors were known.

2. The ceorls, who were men of ignoble (i. e. unknown) origin.

After this date we find that the social classes are the following:

1. The earls, who were tenants-in-chief to the king.

2. The thegns, who were inferior nobles of various ranks.

3. The geneat or villein tenants, who held their lands by service and tribute.

4. The theows or slaves.

There were three classes of thegns:

1. Thegns of royal rank, who served the king in court, or in the management of state affairs.

2. The ordinary thegns, who held the title by inheritance, and corresponded to the lords of the manor of later times.

3. The inferior thegns, men who won their way into this class through distinction in commerce and war.

The geneat, or villein tenants. were of two classes :

1. Geburs, or villeins proper, who held yardlands (about thirty acres scattered over the fields in strips).

2. Cottiers, who held in villenage a few scattered strips (about five acres) in open fields.

Beneath these two classes were the theows or slaves, made up partly of born slaves, partly of captives taken in war, and partly of freemen who had lost their freedom through crime or poverty.

The geburs held land of the thegn for their own use, sometimes as much as 150 acres, and were required to work on the home farm for the lord two or three days a week, or pay rent (produce of the land) for their holdings. They were also obliged to provide one or more oxen for the manorial plough teams, which consisted of eight oxen.

Throughout the Domesday Survey it is found that, in the time of Edward the Confessor and afterwards, the land of the manor is divided into :

1. The lord's demesne, which was not let out to tenants.

2. The land held in villenage, which was called his gafol, gavol, gable, or geneat land, and was cultivated by geneats or persons holding by service.

Besides the various classes of holders already mentioned there was also a strong independent body of men who were none other than our English yeomen. They were privileged tenants called socmen or socagers, and held their land by a tenure called socage. Their service was fixed and determinate in quality. They were freeholders, and were known as freemen. They usually paid for their land a money rent, or a nominal acknowledgement, and claimed to be free from the jurisdiction of the lord's court.

The freemen of an ancient township governed themselves to a very great extent. In every village there was a Court-Leet, in which the affairs of the freeholders were especially deliberated upon. There was also the Court-Baron, the hall-moot, or lord's court, which appears to have taken notice of the relations between the lord and

the various kinds of tenants. Then there was the Court Customary, which took cognizance of the affairs of all tenants less than freeholders, especially with regard to the ' custom of the manor '. The freeholders could always appeal from the manorial courts to the royal courts, and claim to be tried by the law of the land.

Every village had its moot-stow, i. e. its meeting-place. It was often a hill, or a sacred tree. A hall, used for the same purpose, was the moot-hall.

If we examine the various old maps of Southampton, it will be seen that the town was very much like other townships in having the same different kinds of land : meadow land, arable land, and waste and wood land. Some only of the inhabitants of the town had common lands and common rights. As in other village communities or towns, they had their courts to manage their affairs, and to make and execute the laws. The court-leet, which is a court of record, is still held annually. Its ancient moot-stow was at Cut-thorn, at the north of the town, close to Burgess Street.

The existence of a court-leet shows that Southampton was a community like a manor, and had a lord of the manor. There the freeholders or freemen met their lord or his representative. In the case of Southampton the lord of the manor was, and still is, the king. This was so probably from the days of King Canute. Southampton was early called the king's town. The land of the town was in the king's demesne.

Southampton, however, was not an ordinary manor. It is an ancient borough ; and this means that it has been for a long time a self-governing town, and is not part of one of the larger hundreds of Hampshire, but is a hundred in itself. A great historian has stated the matter thus : ' The borough is a vill which is a hundred ; or it is a vill which has an organization similar to that of a hundred.' A hundred was ruled over by a court called the hundred-moot, which consisted of all the most important men from all the townships within the hundred.

Now, since a borough was a hundred in itself, it is natural to find a borough court corresponding to the hun-

dred court, and having similar responsibilities. In olden times it was called the burh-gemot.

Why came Southampton to be one of the ancient boroughs of England ? The reason is to be found in the great natural importance of the place as a commercial port, and in the necessity of its being strongly defended against warlike attacks. It will be seen that the borough grew up around the Old Castle Hill, and was strongly defended by walls, towers, and ditch.

The inhabitants gathering in such a town soon became more interested in commerce than in the farming of the land of the town ; and the important citizens were merchants, who formed a powerful society called the guild-merchant. The members were called guildsmen. These men, in time, became the ruling body of the town ; and the members of the burh-moot (the ancient corporation or town council) were generally expected to be guildsmen. The Guild Hall is a memorial of the ancient merchant and trade guilds of the town.

The king held the town of Southampton in demesne, and consequently expected his rent from it. He also expected the borough to be properly defended. In a business-like way he made wealthy citizens responsible both for the rent due from the whole town, and for the defence of the port.

On examining the Domesday Survey of Southampton we find that in the borough of Hantune the king had seventy-six tenants in demesne, who paid £7 in land gable (land-tax). These were the burgesses, the free inhabitant householders, paying scot and lot (taxation and service). Eight persons held lands or houses in the borough free of tax. Sixty-five French born and thirty-one English born were also lodged in Hantune, and these paid £4 and 6*d*. for all customs. Then follows a list of twenty-two men, mostly great landholders in the county, who had the custom of forty-seven houses by a grant of William the Conqueror. These houses were inhabited by burgesses, who paid their rent to their landlords, and who also helped to defend the town.

What was the qualification necessary to make an inhabitant a burgess in the fullest sense ? He was to be the

holder of a house within the borough, and this house he held in socage as a freeholder held his land in the counties. This tenure of the burgess, the freeholder of the borough, was called burgage tenure. So precious did this holding of a house become, that the burgesses at last claimed the right of bequeathing their houses by their last wills ' like chattels '. Then, in a trading town, like Southampton, it became necessary in course of time for the burgess to be a guildsman. This class of citizens was never very numerous, but it was wealthy and powerful ; and the other citizens were often obliged to struggle against them for their civil rights and privileges. It must be remembered that originally the burgesses were the free resident householders, enrolled in the borough court, and paying ' scot and lot ' ; that is, bearing their part in the public burdens, both as to taxation and duties. These freeholders frequently resented attempts to deprive them of their common lands and their common rights.

What were the common lands formerly enjoyed by the freeholders of Southampton ? And where were those lands ? Of course they were within the borough ; and, as in other boroughs, there were the common pasture land, the common arable land, and the common waste and wood land.

If we study two old maps of Southampton of about the year 1770, we shall see that the common lands of the town were extensive. In the south-east there was a large area of common land, bounded by the town Ditch on the west, East Street and Cramp Lane (Marsh Lane) on the north, and the Beach from Cross House to God's House Gate. This area contained the ancient Bowling Green, God's House Meadow, the gardens called the Three Fields, and the Salt Marsh. At Cross House or Itchenworth was the Little Salt Marsh. All this area was once enjoyed as common land by the burgesses of Southampton. Part was meadow land, part was cultivated in the ancient three-field system, and part was used as a waste for rough pasturage.

This district is now mostly covered with streets of houses. The Bowling Green of the town still exists ; and

God's House Meadow is now known as Queen's Park. The Marsh Estate is part of the public lands, but is no longer common land.

A further view of these two old maps will reveal other common lands, viz. Hoglin's Common Fields (The Hoglands), which is now the Cricket Park, Houndwell Common Fields, extending from Hanover Buildings to New Road near the Clock Tower, Magdalene's Common Fields (Andrew's Park), West Magdalene's (Watts's Park and West Marlands), and the Southampton Common.

Again, if we examine another old map of Southampton, of the year 1771, we shall see how the common land was divided up, in some places, into a large number of small garden plots. This was especially the case in the gardens called the Three Fields, also along the south and east sides of the Hoglands, along the south and west sides of the Houndwell Common Field, and in parts of the Magdalene's Common Field.

The Three Fields appear to have been separated by Orchard Lane and Nightingale Lane. The latter is now called Threefield Lane and Latimer Street.

Besides the common fields already mentioned there must have been others, which are indicated by St. Mary's Field, Kingsfield, and Highfield. Kingsfield was formerly known as King John's Field.

It was usual in the old days of common fields for a freeholder or burgess to have for his own special use an enclosed garden or croft adjoining his residence. There was such an enclosure near Crab Niton. It was probably known as the Long Croft ; and Long Croft Street is a memorial of it. At the eastern end of Chapel Lane (now Chapel Road) on the south side, near the old Chapel of St. Andrew's, was a similar enclosure, known as St. Andrew's Croft. Outside the crofts lay common fields.

There is a very interesting map, dated 1844, which shows how rapidly Southampton was changing. Much of the common land was by this time built upon. In this map one should notice the Lammas Lands : Porters Mead Lammas Land, Hoglands Lammas Land, East Marlands Lammas Land, and West Marlands Lammas Land.

What was Lammas Land ? It was land which was not used in common by the burgesses all the year round, but only for about six months, from Lammas Day (the Feast of First Fruits). From Candlemas (February 2) till Lammas Day (August 1) the Lammas Land was divided into strips and enjoyed in ' severalty ' (i. e. by individuals) either as arable land or meadow land. The crops of corn, vegetables, and hay were gathered by Lammas Day the temporary fences were removed, and the strips were then used in common for rough pasturage for about six months. Such lands were described as ' commonable '.

The common lands of Southampton which have retained their common use to some extent, and are still of great importance to the citizens, are the various parks, the Common, and the Avenue.

The beautiful Southampton Common was the common heath of the borough. It has been used in common by the burgesses from early Saxon times, although in the reign of Henry III and before, it had become part of the manor of Shirley of Surlie. In the year 1228 a final concord or agreement was made between Nicholas de Surlie, lord of that manor, and the burgesses of Southampton, before three justices in eyre, by which the burgesses paid ten marks of silver to the said Nicholas for acknowledging their right, and for quitting his claim to the said pasture. It was also agreed that the cattle of neither party should come upon the other's common, but that each should have a free passage to and from their own common.

In 1549 it was declared that Northam has no right of common, and in 1570 an order was made that no Portswood people should put any cattle upon the Common, till Mr. Knight and Lady Dawtrey show their right ; for it was only the inhabitant householders of the town who possessed the rights of common.

For the protection and management of the common lands it was necessary to have proper regulations, and officers were appointed to see these strictly obeyed.

The court whose duty it was to see to these matters was the Court-Leet. This ancient court had the power of censuring and punishing people who were guilty of offences,

such as ' overcharging ' the Common by turning out too many animals, putting old and diseased animals out to grass, using the Common at wrong times of the year, injuring the fences and not keeping them in repair, and wrongfully cutting the turf. Trespassing animals were caught and impounded, and the owners were fined. Useless animals were often ordered to be killed. Annually at the meeting of the Court-Leet, on Hock Tuesday, these matters were presented before the mayor or sheriff and the jurors.

The chief officer for the Common was the cowherd ; and there were also four overseers and twelve drivers of the Common. The cowherd dwelt on the heath. His residence was the well-known house called the ' Cowherds '.

It was the duty of the cowherd to receive the animals, to brand them, and to see them properly driven over the common pastures. He seems to have looked after all the common lands, and had the general superintendence of the cattle there turned out. Sometimes he was at his duties in the Salt Marsh. The cowherd in 1571 was ordered to keep his beasts on Sundays and holidays out of the shooting places, so that all men and boys above the age of seven years might practise the art of shooting unhindered.

The Southampton Common comprises about 360 acres of beautiful woodland and glade. The grand approach to the Common from the south is the Avenue, which commences at Padwell Cross (now known as Asylum Green). It is interesting to notice that the Avenue and the Common have been extra-parochial for many centuries. By Act of Parliament the Common is exempt from house building.

In 1834, permission was granted by Parliament to the London and South Western Railway Company to build their railway over the town mudlands and marsh.

A very important Act was passed in 1844 for further dealing with a very large portion of the common lands of the town. It was called the Marsh Improvement Act ; and it dealt with the Salt Marsh, containing upwards of 16 acres, and the fields called the East Marlands, containing about 22 acres, West Marlands, containing 16 acres,

and Hoglands, 11 acres. The Act extinguished all rights of common in the Marsh, and empowered the Corporation to let it out on building leases. The Act also empowered the Corporation to compensate other people for their loss of common rights in the different common fields. Thus the way was cleared for the formation of the public parks of the town.

In this form considerable portions of the ancient common lands of Southampton are still preserved for the benefit of the inhabitants. Great changes have taken place, from the early English settlement down through the ages, in the character and use of these common lands. They have a very important bearing upon the history of this ancient township and borough, the King's Town of Southampton.

VI

THE ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS OF SOUTHAMPTON

By R. Macdonald Lucas, F.R.I.B.A.

Since the very dawn of British civilization, the tract of land which Southampton occupies has been regarded as of high strategic importance. Especially was this the case in the time of the Normans. To Winchester, their capital, the town fulfilled the part of a sentry, stationed within a day's march on the coast and looking towards the channel across which as invaders they had come. Thus not only Winchester but all England had good need for Southampton to be at any moment able to resist a hostile force; and to this day can still be seen the fortifications by which for centuries the town was kept secure.

A glance at any map of Hampshire will show the situation of Southampton to be naturally strong; and had an English Romulus sought for a site on which to build a city that should be both easy for defence and convenient for commerce, he could hardly have found a better one than the western and higher half of the peninsula separating the estuaries of the rivers Itchen and Test. Their broad waters, remote from the heavy breakers of the open sea, were of safe navigation only to men acquainted with the mudbanks and shallows which, neither marked, mapped, nor dredged, would render the town hazardous of approach to strangers.

The western site was not, however, the one chosen by the first settlers. One of the earliest fortresses the Romans built in Britain was Clausentum. Around Bitterne Manor House, on the eastern bank of the Itchen, the remains of its ruined outworks may still be traced. On the opposite bank British warriors and traders would

doubtless have lingered half hostile and yet under some protection, thus gradually forming a permanent camp and the nucleus of a Saxon town.

Early in the fifth century the Roman forces were withdrawn from England, and their fortress of Clausentum probably served as a fortified camp for Britons, Saxons, and Danes in turn, until warfare and neglect had reduced it to a useless ruin. The humbler settlement, probably through being less coveted, continued to exist, and until the Norman period the town of Southampton or Hamtun, such as it was, stood on the eastern bank of the Itchen. This part of the peninsula is marshy and low-lying, and altogether a less desirable spot than the western side to live on ; yet although regretful glances must have often been cast at the higher and drier bank of the Test, no general removal thither, nor residence there, appears to have been begun until the time of Canute. Whatever the truth may be as to the early town, it is certain that under the Normans the removal was sufficiently complete to be recognized and confirmed by the construction of great military works for the protection of the south-west corner of the peninsula, works which comprised the digging of a moat and the building of the castle and of high and thick defensive walls.

It may seem strange that when making the moat our ancestors did not take it straight across from river to river, thus transforming the whole southern end of the peninsula into an island. In designing ancient fortifications, however, it was most important not to have too much ground to defend. Thus the small and compact town occupying only the western and higher part of the peninsula could be more easily defended by a limited number of men than if the town walls had enclosed two or three times the area. It must not be forgotten that when the heart of the present town of Southampton was young, bows and arrows and crossbows were the weapons of greatest range, and in those days a body of citizen-soldiers in one small enclosure were better off than they would have been if separated and out of communication. In the eleventh century opposing armies could do each other no harm at a greater

distance than three hundred yards or so. After the first few showers of arrows a battle was a hand-to-hand struggle between individuals mounted or on foot. All through the Norman period and until the beginning of the fourteenth century gunpowder was unknown in warfare, and consequently there were no explosives to break down the defences of an invested town from a distance, while such machines as the *balliste*, a large crossbow or mechanical catapult in a frame on wheels, although able to throw huge stones, could hardly have damaged walls much more quickly than they could be repaired. To a certain extent the conditions that govern the military distribution of forces were the reverse then of what they are now, for before the use of gunpowder was developed and shells were invented, concentration was best for defence and distribution for attack. The force attacking a town had to accept the disadvantage of aiming their projectiles and working their battering-rams from such shelters only as could be pushed forward with them. Also while one man could attack but one place at a time, each watchman could superintend a considerable length of wall. Thus a dozen men concentrated on the defence of fifty yards of wall might well hold it against two or three score, but the same defenders would have a far harder task to guard twice that extent of wall against the same attack. Therefore, the shorter the encircling wall, the better for the garrison, provided of course that it enclosed a sufficiently spacious area for the citizens and their stock ; and it was no doubt wise for this reason as well as for reasons of economy and rapidity of construction, that the moat and walls were planned to enclose only the south-western corner of the peninsula, and not the whole of the southern end, leaving the dwellings of the early settlement outside. Among these dwellings stood the first church of Southampton, probably near the spot where the fine modern church dedicated to St. Mary now stands.

In the Middle Ages a moat, especially if tidal, was one of the best defences a town could have, and Southampton was fortunate in being so placed that one could be formed

where needed with the least difficulty. The soil of the peninsula being generally soft and loose, digging no doubt proceeded apace, and the labourers had tidal water close to the ends of the trench. Where we now see Bargate Street and Pembroke Square they excavated a ditch both wide and deep, and double for the greater part of its length, continuing their work southward to the shore along the line of the thoroughfare called The Ditches. At the southern end was a sluice-gate, the arch of which can still be seen in God's House Tower, by which the changing of the water could be arranged and its depth regulated.

Along the southern and western sides of the Norman town there was no need of a moat, for here the estuary of the river Test ebbed and flowed, flooding its muddy shallows at high tide up to the very foot of some domestic buildings which were skilfully incorporated in the great defensive walls. There could hardly be a better natural defence not prohibitive of free access for trade than this wide estuary with its bewildering currents and double tides, its mudbanks and its shallows !

For the complete protection of the town, the natural defence of the river Test on the south and west, and the artificial defence of the moat on the north and east were supplemented by stone walls of great thickness and commanding height. These walls completely encircled the island that was formed as soon as the trenches had been dug out deep enough to admit the tide throughout their length, and the lines upon which the Normans planned them are shown by the illustration on another page ; but this great undertaking was not carried out all at once to the extent indicated, for though much of the original masonry remains, it was soon considerably altered and added to, besides which, in the alterations some of the first work may have been destroyed. On the north the wall appears in several back-gardens, and can be traced even where enclosed by houses ; on the west long stretches of it are not only visible but very prominent, so prominent indeed that like many another obvious thing the wall there may be passed without due notice ; on the south

and east, though the line can be traced by fragments, it is less clear. The total length of the encircling wall is about two thousand yards, and its height at the 'Forty Steps' is twenty-five feet six inches, which dimension may be taken as its average ; and the material used in its construction above the ground level cannot have been less than two million cubic feet of stone. Allowing for the foundations and towers, the total quantity may be reasonably estimated at about twice that amount, and although much of the stone was simply loose rubble thrown in between two parallel walls of no great thickness, built first to form a casing, it will be realized from the quantities stated that the undertaking by its magnitude well indicates the high value set upon Southampton as a national stronghold of the olden time.

In order to make a small garrison as effective as possible, the walls were divided into short lengths, by the construction of towers projecting outwards from the face in the way that bow-windows project from a house-front. Besides the secondary effect of adding to the stability of a flat wall by increasing the width of its base and acting as a buttress (which action, by the way, the Normans did not fully understand), a tower gave to an archer similar advantages in shooting to those a bow-window gives for seeing ; he could shoot along the wall on either hand, and could pick off almost from behind men attempting to ascend it by scaling-ladders. Thus fifty men where a wall had towers might make a better defence than a hundred where it had none ; and there was also the advantage of an extended view for the watchmen, very valuable in the prevention of surprises.

Besides bows and arrows, defenders, of course, had other weapons useful in emergencies, and even such elementary ones as stones hurled from a height of twenty or thirty feet were not to be despised. There were channels for pouring down boiling water to scald men, or quick-lime to blind them, and holes for stabbing them with spears. A slender ash-pole shod with iron would make a very effective weapon if well handled against even fully-armed men attempting to breast their way over a wall,

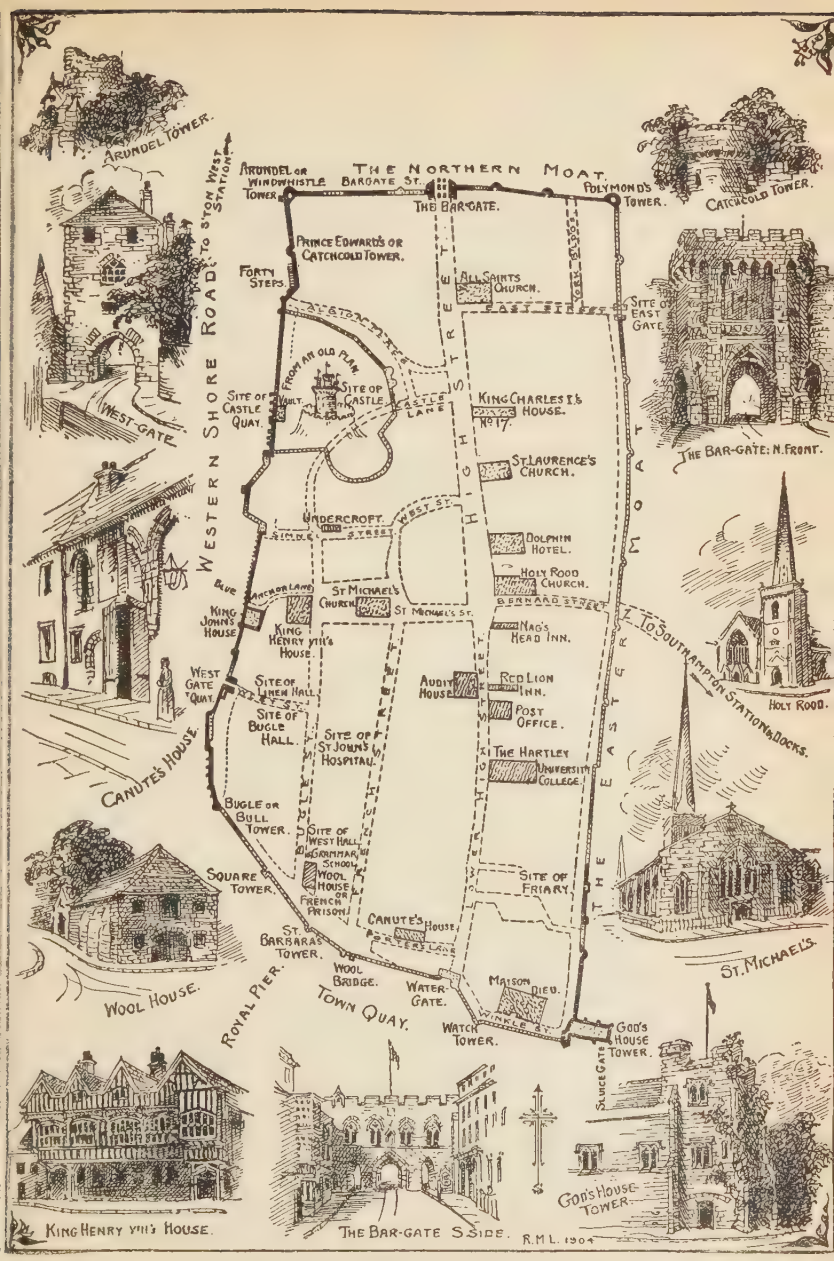

FIG. 31. SKETCH PLAN OF OLD SOUTHAMPTON

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especially if the main wall had a ' crenellated ' parapet along its outer edge with spaces called embrasures in it, through which the invading party could be assailed before they had quite reached the top. Embrasures were also extremely useful to the archers, as through them they could shoot in tolerable safety, shielded by the merlons or strips of wall separated by the embrasures.

There were in all twenty-nine towers, and they were distributed at fairly regular intervals along the walls, and rising a few feet higher, each corner having one for its defence, and the Bar-gate, East-gate, and Water-gate being provided with flanking turrets. It is impossible to say how many of these towers the Normans actually erected or intended to erect, when the original lines of the fortifications were laid down, but it is certain that some of them were built or rebuilt some centuries later, up to the middle of the fifteenth century, though definite evidence of date is not so easily discernible in plain military work as in the more ornate ecclesiastical and domestic architecture of the Middle Ages.

There were two gateways for land traffic, the Bar-gate in the centre of the North Wall, and the East-gate, pulled down about 1775 (p. 165), which stood across the line of East Street, about a hundred and twenty yards from the High Street. Both of these had flanking-towers,—those of the Bar-gate were pierced through for the present side-passages or slypes in the latter half of the eighteenth century ; and they each carried a portcullis or armoured screen, which could be raised and lowered in grooves, and a drawbridge for making or severing communication with the mainland side of the moat. With its two drawbridges raised, it will be remembered that the moated town was an island at high tide, and only connected with the mainland at low tide by a treacherous muddy foreshore.

Besides these two gates there were five others of importance, which opened direct upon the quays or the foreshore, and of these the West-gate, Blue Anchor-gate and God's House-gate still remain. Biddle's-gate, near Simnel Street, and the South or Water-gate, at the lower end of the High Street, were destroyed many years ago ;

and there were at least two posterns or doorways, probably of great importance for secret comings and goings.

But the moat and the walls, strong though they were, formed but the outworks in the scheme of defence. The castle was the crowning glory of the mediaeval fortified town. Here was the heart of the sentinel ; heart, head, and hands in one, it nurtured, governed, and defended. The moat might be crossed, the walls scaled, the houses burnt ; but while this great fortress stood in her sons' keeping England knew that no foreign invaders could safely disembark on the shore nearest to her ancient capital.

The castle and its precincts occupied the high ground in the neighbourhood of Albion Place, Castle Gardens, and Forest View. Little of it remains to-day, but in Castle Lane there is a noticeable fragment of masonry that adjoined its eastern gateway. In the timber-yard at the back of Castle Gardens may also be seen an arcade or series of arches springing from huge stone piers which carried a wall standing at the top of a steep artificial bank of earth. Within this wall on a high conical mound stood the castle, ' most beautiful, in form circular, and wall within wall ; the foundation upon a hill so topped that it cannot be ascended but by stairs.' And yet, in spite of the ponderous strength of this building, scarce a vestige of it remains !

A Norman castle was generally surrounded by a moat shaped according to the natural features of the site, within which stood the outer wall of the bailey, or space used for temporary stores and offices, and as an exercising-ground for the imprisoned community. The bailey wall was usually defended by projecting towers rising one storey above it, the top being crowned by crenellated and machicolated battlements, that is, battlements cut into short lengths by embrasures, as we have seen, and carried forward from the plain face of the wall on a row of corbels, as on the north front of the Bar-gate. The gateway of the bailey was defended by a deep ditch at least, if not a water-holding moat, and fitted with a drawbridge and portcullis, and heavy oak gates studded with iron. The

chapel as well as the granaries stood in the bailey, which was sometimes double-ringed, an outer and inner bailey being formed by the erection of a second ring of wall between the moat and the castle proper.

The keep was the most enclosed and the strongest part of the castle, the last stronghold to which a garrison could be driven. The Normans built their keeps as great towers square or oblong on plan, with walls sloping outwards at the foot, and without doorways at the ground level. Such posterns as existed were made at a sufficient height to require movable ladders or easily-destroyed stairs for access from without. The foundations of the keep went very deep into the earth to prevent undermining, and the space they enclosed was divided up into dungeons and cellars, upon these again being store-rooms raised above the level of the ground. On the next floor came the large hall or council chamber, and sometimes a chapel, and above were small rooms used for domestic purposes, some of these rooms, about the size of cabins, being formed in the thickness of the walls. The roofs were generally steep-sloped and covered with stone slabs, but flat lead roofs with crenellated parapet walls were also used.

An old print of Southampton Castle represents a circular tower or keep with a battlemented parapet. The circular form was uncommon during the Norman period, and this and the battlemented parapet suggest that in all probability the representation is of a castle that had been considerably remodelled if not rebuilt entirely since the Normans founded it.

A Norman keep, though it could offer little more than passive resistance to an attack, was of value as a cave of refuge for a worn-out garrison, for its enormous walls could endure a prolonged battering from the weapons of the time without demanding much active defence from within. The retirement to the keep was therefore followed for the besieged by some invaluable hours of comparative rest; and before the enemy could make much impression on the walls, the weary and wounded would be refreshed and encouraged sufficiently perhaps

to achieve the recapture of the bailey. The ever-dreaded danger of treachery within was guarded against, to some extent, by the staircases and passages being so arranged as to make intercommunication and therefore conspiracy difficult.

The moat and the castle are gone : they have served their time. The walls in part remain ; and as late as 1770 they formed a complete though ruinous ring, but their repair was sadly neglected long before modern weapons rendered them obsolete. It is interesting to make a complete tour of the walls, starting from the Bar-gate westward and noticing especially the various types of battlement adopted for the purpose of keeping men out, and the secret passage in the thickness of the wall between Blue Anchor Lane and the West-gate ; also the Guard-room, or place where arms were stored and watchmen met when going on and off duty. And the more vividly we realize the past throes and glory of this old fortress the more we shall value those evidences which remain to prove our town's importance as a great national bulwark. Even in their decay their story is plainly that of the ' acknowledged pride of all the Southern Shore '.

FIG. 32. OLD BLUE ANCHOR LANE
(*From a drawing by R. M. Lucas, F.R.I.B.A.*)

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VII

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE TOWN

By H. W. Gidden, M.A.

The Muniment Room. Facing the entrance to the Municipal Buildings and at the foot of the staircase is a strong room, built of steel, and hence fire-proof. On opening the door the visitor can, at first, see nothing at all. An electric light is turned on and suddenly the Muniment Room is disclosed. We expect to see a romantic spot befitting the 504 manuscripts stored on shelves around the walls, but we are disappointed. The whole is most prosaic and legal in appearance. But the contents fulfil all our expectations.

The Oak Book. Look at this curious old book—the *Oak Book*. It takes its name from its covers, of which one is longer than the other. In the lower part of the longer there is a square hole to put the hand through while using the volume. On opening it we find written on its pages of vellum ancient records of the laws and customs of the town. It dates from the reign of Edward II, and amongst other things contains a list of the boroughs of England and a form of oath administered to the 'Meyre, Baillif e bones gents'[1] of the town.

The Black Book. Next we turn to the *Black Book*, bound or rather covered with black leather. In it we read the town records from Richard II to Elizabeth. For example here is one entry. 'A Pavyour to be ordeyned to dwell in a house of the Towne price of xiii*s.* iii*id.* rent free, and to have yearly a gowne to this extent, that he shall serche the pavement of the said towne and also to pave in alle places nedefulle.' At the end of this book, which was usually called the *Blak Papyr*, are two letters from Henry VII, one of which begins: 'Trusty and Welbiloved We grete you well, And where as our Cousin Tharcheduc of Austriche and Duc of Burgoyne hath sent unto us of late the Lord Bever, &c.'

[1] Old French. The phrase may be translated: 'Mayor, Bailiff and Burgesses.'

Treatise on the Philosopher's Stone. Another very interesting work of the fifteenth century is a treatise on the Philosopher's Stone, a work in twelve chapters, said to be a translation of a book written by Roger Bacon, that famous old friar of inventive powers. The preface commences thus :

'In the begynnynge when thow made all of nowght,
A globose mater and derke under confusion,
By the begynner marvelously was wrought,
Conteyning all thinges withowte division.'

The Book of Remembrances. Two other books must be noticed. The first, called the *Book of Remembrances*, is filled with a medley of matter from 1445 to James I. Here is an example of the entries. 'xx^{the} day of Septembre in ii^{e} yere of the reigne of our sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henry the VIIth. One John Burnard yoman comme unto Suthampton unto the Maire and seid ther is a Prynce borne that night next affor at Wynchester. And that all the Curetes prestes and clerkes of the seide town shold goe in prossession (look at the spelling !) and aftre synge te Deum laudamus yn wurshipyng God therfor.' This refers to the birth of Arthur, Prince of Wales. Queen Elizabeth visited the town in 1569 and evidently caused great expense as the following items, taken from a bill with at least thirty entries, show.

item	sergeantes of the Arms	xx*s.*
,,	payed her fotemen	xx*s.*
,,	,, her trumpeters	xx*s.*
,,	,, to the drome and flute of Portismothe	v*s.*
,,	,, Peter Glasier for his drome and flutes	v*s.*

Speed's History of Southampton. The last book we will look at is Dr. Speed's *History of Southampton.* This is by far the most interesting of all the documents. The labour, mental and physical, bestowed upon it must have been enormous. Not only is every word printed, but where the ink has faded (and this has happened throughout one-third of the work) whole pages have been re-written exactly over the former words. This history has formed

and ever will form the basis of all histories of Southampton. Dr. Speed resided close to Holy Rood Church, and as he died in 1781 every word of his history is the more interesting because of the vivid pictures he presents of town life in the early half of George III's reign.

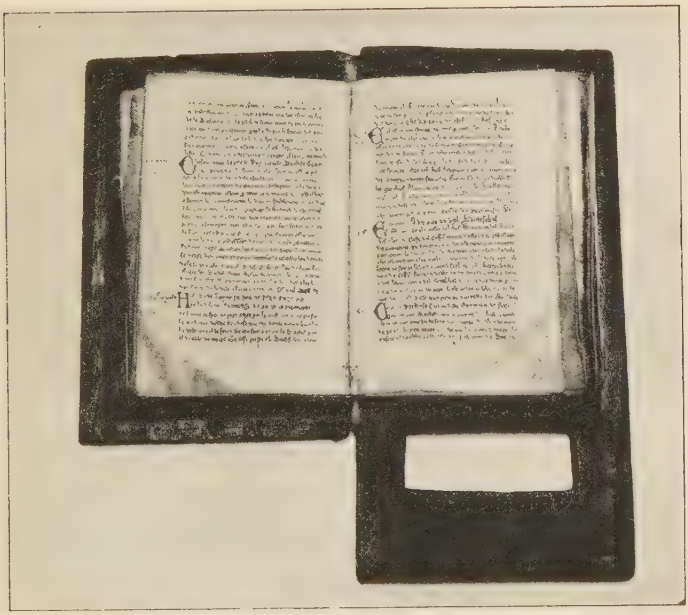

Fig. 33. The Oak Book

Other Books. We have no space left us to describe the famous Court-Leet Books, the Assembly Books, and the Books of Examinations, all of which are full of valuable local history.

The Town Charters. Now we must turn to the Charters. These are wrapped up in unassuming brown paper parcels, that is all except one, the oldest, which is framed and hangs in the Town Clerke's office. This is dated June 26, 1199, and orders that ' Our Burgesses of Suhampton shall be free from tallage and passage and pontage '.

All these fifty odd charters are written in Latin, and by their means it is possible to trace the development of the town from the time when its inhabitants belonged to the king, body and soul, down to the reign of Charles I, who, in a charter, which is in itself a small volume, confirmed all the privileges which former sovereigns had bestowed upon the burgesses. We will briefly notice a few of these grants.

Points of Interest from the Charters. Henry III enjoined the Barons of the Cinque Ports to take no cark (cargo) in the port of Southampton. The same king forbade the sheriffs (or king's officers) to interfere with the inhabitants. Henry IV allowed the burgesses to elect their own magistrates. In 1445 Henry VI ' incorporated the town for ever of one mayor, two bailiffs and burgesses to be one community perpetual, incorporate in word and deed by the name of the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses '. Hence we see that our corporation dates from this reign. A year or two later the town was created a county, and as the charter says, it is to be called ' our county of the Town of Southampton '. This privilege made the borough more and more independent of the king and his officers. Henry VI's successor, Edward IV, spoke in very flattering terms of the loyalty of the inhabitants to the crown, and either established or confirmed the following courts in consequence, namely, the town court, the justices' court, the court-leet, and the pie-powder court, or court of dusty feet, so called because persons using this court travelled so far. Edward VI finding that the defences of the town had fallen into sad repair remitted certain taxes on the understanding that the walls and the forts called ' bullwerkes ' should be put into a proper state of defence.

Most of these charters are beautifully written, and in some cases the heading is worked in a very intricate manner with various coloured inks ; sometimes, however, the initial letter is omitted, we presume because of the expense. For these charters were expensive, the cost of Charles I's, certainly a very lengthy one, being £219 17*s*.

Other Documents. We will conclude this chapter by a brief reference to some of the letters which the town

has received from former sovereigns. After Richard III cleared the two young princes, his nephews, out of his path, his throne was placed in some danger from the Duke of Buckingham, who raised an ineffectual rebellion. The following letter is worth quoting in full.

Letter of Richard III. 'Richard etc to oure trusty and welbeloved the Maior shirief and aldermen of oure Towne of Southampton. Trusty and welbelowed We grete you wele, and let you wit that the Duc of Buckingham is traterously turned upon us contrary to the deutie of his liegeaunce and entendith thutter distruccion of us, you, and alle othre our trewe subgiettes that have taken oure part, whose traiterus entent We with goddes grace entend briefly to resist and subdue, Pray you hertly therefore and naithles upon your leigeaunce charge you that with as many as ye may reise and make in defensible array on horseback ye do sende to be with us at our Citie of Coventre the xxij day of this present moneth withouten faile in any wise as ye tendre our honnour and your owne wele, and We shall soo see to you for your reward and charges, as ye shal hold you right wele content. Yeven under our signet at our Citie of Lincoln the xiij day of Octobre.'

Letter of Henry VII. Although Henry VII made his artillery of great importance, yet his son did not despise the old English bow, as the following extract shows.

'Trusty and Welbiloved We grete you wele, And forasmoche as to good policie it apperteigneth in tyme of peace to provide against warres, We therfor intending to have a good nombre of Archers prepared and put in arredines (readiness ?) as well for the defense of us and this oure Reame as for the furniture of our other dominions and garnisons in outward partes, Woll and desyre you and nevertheless commaunde you, that forthwith upon the sight of these our letters ye do endevor yourself with all diligence possible to put the nombre of Twelve good hable and sufficient bowmen and archers furnysshed for the Warres.'

It is to be observed that the spelling is improving, and also that the influence of the French language upon our own was of considerable moment at this period.

Letters from various kings. There are some thirty of these letters addressed to the mayor and bailiffs of the town by various sovereigns from Henry VI to Edward VI, all of which contain many points of interest. Besides these royal epistles are others, amongst which the most interesting seems to be one addressed to the Mayor and Corporation by the Lords of the Council, in April, 1588, at the very time when the whole country was in a state of ferment about the Spanish Armada. In this letter a demand is made that the town shall supply 'two serviceable and good shippes' of at least sixty tons burden, and one pinnace, all of them duly manned, victualled, and furnished with munitions and necessaries for two months' service, to join Her Highness's navy by the 25th of the same month. The town humbly said that it was too poor to stand the expense. Sir Francis Walsingham curtly acknowledged the letter, but insists upon the ships being supplied. It is plain that the town and the queen's ministers were on no very good terms at this time, for when the Armada was defeated, a bitter dispute broke out between the victorious admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, and the Mayor of Southampton.

Letters from other notable persons. Finally, there is a large number of manuscripts composed of deeds, leases, and other legal documents of no particular interest. The substance of two, however, is worth mentioning. In the former, dated 1340 (just after the French had invaded and nearly ruined Southampton), the Earl of Warwick pledged himself to the Black Prince to raise one hundred armed men for the defence of the town. In the latter, dated 1369, the Bishop of Winchester (the famous William of Wykeham), armed with a royal charter, compelled the mayor (Edward Dieugard) to enter into an agreement that during the sixteen days of St. Giles's fair at Winchester, all shops and stalls and markets in Southampton should be closed, and that there should be no buying or selling in or around the town, save of necessary victuals. The burgesses struggled against this oppressive measure, and at length caused it to be repealed.

VIII

THE CHURCHES BEFORE THE REFORMATION

By F. Clarke, M.A.

Introductory. If we were to count the places of worship to be found in Southampton at the present day we should probably find that they numbered more than fifty. Yet of all these only two are really ancient, St. Michael's and Holyrood. Three other ancient churches have been pulled down and rebuilt, St. Mary's, St. Laurence, and All Saints, and some of the older chapels, such as Above Bar, have been similarly treated. One church, St. John's, which formerly stood in French Street, has disappeared, and of God's House only certain parts are old. Yet, in spite of the complete disappearance, or great alteration, of so many of the old buildings, we are able to know a great deal about church life in our town many hundreds of years ago.

Norman Times. We cannot say for certain that a church existed here before the time of the Normans. Very likely Southampton did not become an important place until the Saxon period was nearly over. But it certainly *was* an important place when the Normans came, and we can hardly believe that it was without a church. There is very good reason for thinking that a St. Mary's Church existed, and early in the Conqueror's reign St. John's Church, Southampton, was ' given ' by a Norman baron to his favourite Norman abbey, that is, the monks of the abbey, after providing for the proper services, could have the endowment of this church for themselves.

Less than a hundred years afterwards, in the reign of Henry II, all uncertainty about our ancient churches is removed, and in this way,—the Priory of St. Denys had

now come into existence. But the monks, or rather canons, of St. Denys, though they were but few, could not live on nothing. So Henry II added to other gifts which he and his grandfather had made the ' gift ' of the four ' chapels ' of St. Michael, Holyrood, St. Laurence, and All Saints. Now you must notice that these were called ' chapels ' not ' churches '. This did not mean that the services held in them would be different from those held in other places. It meant that they were dependent upon some other church, which can have been no other than St. Mary's. (Even in our day St. Matthew's, St. James's, and several other churches are really ' chapels ' of St. Mary's). The clergymen in charge of these old ' chapels ' would be called ' chaplains '. They were not monks, but the monks of St. Denys would set aside some of the Church fees and tithes for their support, and the rest would be devoted to monastic purposes. But the Rector of St. Mary's also claimed some of these fees, for his church, he said, was the mother-church, and a long quarrel about them between him and the Priory of St. Denys was brought to an end by an elaborate agreement in the year 1225.

The Parish Churches and Religious Houses. We see then, that 700 years ago, no less than six churches existed. St. Mary's, the mother-church, the dependent chapels of St. Michael, St. Laurence, All Saints, and Holyrood, and the half-Norman church of St. John. Let us try to picture the church life of Southampton as it was during those distant ages before the Reformation.

The Church in Southampton then as now was governed by the Bishop of Winchester, who was at that time really a great prince, the wealthiest of all the English bishops. Sometimes, though not often, he would come to Southampton, as he did in 1317, to hold an ordination at St. Mary's, or in 1334 to see that all was well at St. Denys, and on those occasions he would appear with much grandeur. Much more frequently we might have seen his officers and messengers bringing instructions to the Rural Dean or to the ' Cantor ' of St. Mary's, his representatives. As an example let us take Bishop William of Wykeham's

orders to them in 1370, when there was great danger of another French attack. They were to assemble all 'ecclesiastical men' of the town (all their dependents perhaps), and cause them to be fully equipped and armed, each according to his means. The danger must have been great, for the bishop was very urgent, and no delay could be allowed.

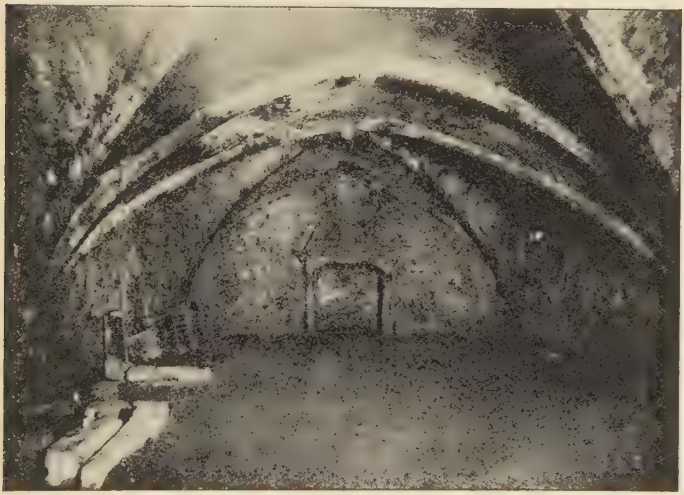

Fig. 34. The Undercroft, Simnel Street (possibly an ancient Rest-House for Pilgrims)

From time to time parties of pilgrims, landing at West Quay, would pass through the town on their way to Becket's Shrine at Canterbury, often staying for a short time perhaps at God's House Hospital. The mention of this hospital reminds us that the Church life of Southampton was not centred entirely in its parish churches. The name 'Priory Road' still preserves the memory of St. Denys Priory, of which only a small fragment now remains. God's House still shows some parts of the ancient hospital. But the house of the Grey Friars has completely dis-

appeared from its site near Gloucester Square, and the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen no longer exists in the ' Marlands ', or ' Magdalens ', to which it gave a name. The ' Chantries ', the tiny chapels or altars where priests offered masses and prayers for the souls of those who had left money for the purpose, have disappeared from St. Mary's and Holyrood, and the chapel that formed a part of the ancient castle has gone completely. Yet of all these we must know something if we are to imagine what Church life was in Southampton 500 or 600 years ago. Let us begin with the Canons of St. Denys.

St. Denys Priory. When we try to picture St. Denys Priory as it was so many centuries ago, we must avoid thinking of it as a great monastery like Beaulieu, or even Netley. From the time of its foundation by Henry I in 1124 to the year 1536, when another Henry brought about its dissolution, it was always poor, small, and weak. Only six canons and nine servants were found in it in 1536, whereas Beaulieu could show as many as forty or fifty monks alone.

The ' monks ' of St. Denys were properly ' Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine ', or more shortly, Augustinian Canons. That is to say, they lived according to a plan or rule which was supposed (though wrongly) to have been drawn up by the great Augustine, a famous bishop of the early Christian Church, who died in the year 430. Gifts of land, of rents, of fees from churches, of ' tithes ' and of dues from country estates were made to them from time to time by kings, bishops, earls, and citizens of Southampton. Thus Henry I gave them some land near the river, to which Richard I added ' the wood called Portswood ', and part of ' Kings land '. Henry II, as we have seen, gave them certain fees from the Southampton churches, and a great Earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun (the noble who was bold enough to withstand Edward I), ' gave ' them the church of Chilworth, with all its lands and dues on condition that they would provide a chaplain. Sometimes, too, wealthy merchants and others in Southampton gave them lands and rents, and in the surrounding country they held some property. But

Fig. 35. Ruins of St. Denys Priory (Eighteenth Century)

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they were always poor, and they cannot have played a very important part in the Church life of Southampton.

The Friars. We can hardly say this, however, of the friars. They also, it is true, were poor, as we may gather from the account of their belongings drawn up in 1538 when the friary was abolished. The church was well furnished, but in the rooms occupied by the friars little is mentioned besides a few tables, chairs, and forms. So poor was the friary that the king's officer who took possession thought it wise to pay his own expenses rather than take them from the proceeds, as was usually done.

The friars resembled the monks also in living according to a rule, and were even more strict in the performance of their religious duties. But in other respects the difference was great. Instead of choosing a secluded spot by the riverside far from the busy town, the friars placed their house—and a poor, comfortless, ill-furnished house it was—just in the quarter where the population was thickest and poorest. God's House, of which we shall speak presently, had already been set up in 1185 for the relief of the poor, the sick, and the needy. Just to the north of it the friars settled, where many poor and mean hovels had sprung up, some just within, others just outside, the east wall of the town. Here they began their noble work of helping the weak and the outcast. Those who settled here were friars (or ' brothers ') of the Order of St. Francis—Franciscans or Grey Friars they were called. For the first few years after their settlement in the year 1230 or thereabouts they kept to the strict vow of poverty they had made. Living on alms and offerings, having few clothes, no money, plain food, and no luxuries, they tried to follow the example of Christ himself in seeking only to serve the poor. A stone building erected for them by a friendly citizen was pulled down in obedience to a stern order from their chief, that all such extravagances were not even to be thought of. But such severe self-denial could not last, and so in 1287 we find them opening their new church, celebrating the occasion by a feast given them by a good friend. Soon after they built a new

house, with a chapter-house (that is, an assembly-room) much like those in the monasteries. Still they went on with their good work, although hypocrites among them began to make all friars much disliked. An ancient song about the friars contained the following lines :

' They preach all of poverty, but that love they nought,
For good meat to their mouths the town is through sought.'

In 1499 the Southampton friars had so far forgotten their true duty, that a complete reform became necessary. But this did not save them, for in 1536 their house was seized by Henry VIII and they themselves were dispersed. A monument to their efforts was left in the form of the town water-supply, which they had caused to be brought from a spring at the spot still called ' Springhill ' to the very heart of Southampton. A fountain connected with the old pipes once stood near Holyrood Church.

The Hospitals. But monks and friars and parish priests were not the whole of Southampton's clergy. The town possessed two ' hospitals '—almshouses we should call them—and to each of these certain priests were attached. God's House at one time had three priests, in addition to the chief or warden, who was generally absent. And when we find that God's House supported also a number of lay ' brothers ', several ' sisters ', together with a staff of indoor and outdoor servants, we begin to wonder how much was left for the very poor. Yet it was for the poor that the hospitals were founded. God's House may have been intended for the assistance and relief of travellers, perhaps of pilgrims landing at Southampton to pass on by way of Winchester to Becket's Shrine at Canterbury.

The other hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, we know to have been founded for the relief of lepers. A seaport town having trade connexions with eastern countries could not keep quite free from that terrible disease. And so the townsmen themselves set up this lepers' hospital in the town fields near the present position of the tramway junction. The main road to Winchester ran through the hospital grounds. A duty of one penny

on every tun of foreign wine brought into Southampton helped to supply the needs of the house.

But God's House was much more wealthy. At the time of the French attack in 1337 no less than 108 houses in Southampton belonged to it, besides wine vaults, cellars, and broad lands both in Southampton and in other places as far off as Dorset and the Isle of Wight. And just as the small 'Maudlin' (Magdalen) Hospital came into the hands of the St. Denys canons, so God's House and all its lands were given to a much greater body, the Queen's College, founded at Oxford by the help of Edward III's queen. From that time the lands of God's House, much increased by estates taken from the suppressed priory at Monk Sherborne, in North Hampshire, have been in the hands of Queen's College. Many, no doubt, have heard of the valuable property which that College still holds in that part of the town which lies near the Docks Station.

The Castle Chapel. To complete our picture of old Southampton Church life we must include the Chapel of the ancient Castle. Every large castle then had its chapel. Even to-day we can see St. John's in the Tower of London, and St. George's at Windsor. But we shall feel a little surprised when we are told that King Richard II allowed the chaplain of Southampton Castle £10 a year, *not* simply to perform the services, but to take charge of the armour, artillery, victual, and guns! There is less reason for surprise when we remember that a trained and educated man would be needed for this post, and few besides ordained Churchmen—clerics or 'clerks'—had the necessary education.

Conclusion. With a little imagination we should, then, be able to picture the Church life of our town in the Middle Ages. The numerous parish churches, among them great St. Mary's; Holyrood, whose bells awoke the drowsy townsmen; St. Michael's, whose clock gave them their time; the friars, busy enough, though not always in the best way; the canons of St. Denys leading their quiet life beyond the town; the frequent festivals; the state visits of bishops and other great dignitaries; the

continual coming and going, the processions, the services, and the convivial meetings of the fraternities or guilds; the sleepy hospitals with their easy-going priests and not overworked brethren; all these make up a varied and interesting picture which has passed away, however, so completely, that to imagine it even dimly is not easy.

In the next chapter we shall see how the great change came about.

IX

THE CHURCHES AFTER THE REFORMATION

By F. Clarke, M.A.

Suppression of the Religious Houses. The great change that was mentioned at the end of the last chapter came about, as we know, in the reign of Henry VIII. Before the year 1536 he had thrown off all the authority of the pope, and was determined to get rid of all that had supported the pope's power. With this object and with the further object of filling his purse, he attacked the monasteries and friaries. Those of Southampton fell with the rest. The Canons of St. Denys gave up their small monastery in 1536 into the hands of the king. The whole income of the house and estates, according to the king's commissioners, was only about £90 (about £1,000 of our money). They also reported the ' church, mansion and housynge ' to be ' in extreme ruyn and decaye '. Southampton, it would seem, lost very little by the dissolution of St. Denys.

The property passed through many hands afterwards as may be read elsewhere. The picture on page 213 shows the ruins as they were in 1774. The portion shown seems to be the west end of the priory church. At the present day one piece of crumbling wall behind a house in Priory Road is all that Time and the spoiler have spared.

The Franciscan Friary in 1538, met with a similar fate. Here is a copy of the document, signed by the prior and five other friars, in which the ' surrender ' was made :

' We the Prior and Convent of the Austin fryers of South-hampton with one assent and consent, without any manner of coaccyon (i. e. compulsion) or consell (i. e.

inducement ?) do gyve our howse into the handdes of the lorde vysytor to the Kynges use : desyerynge hys grace to be goode and gracyous to us. In wyttenes we subscrybe thys with our proper handes, the vjth day of October In the xxxth yere of the raygne of our most dred sovereyn lorde King Henry the viijth.'

You will notice that the house was at this time held by 'Austin' (Augustinian) Friars and not by Franciscans. This is explained when we remember that Henry in 1534 had suppressed with much cruelty all the strict or 'Observant' Franciscans, and had given their property to the Augustinians, who were less likely to resist him.

The Beginnings of Protestantism. The change begun by Henry VIII went much farther than the mere destruction of monasteries and friaries. The king would have been satisfied with the complete establishment of his own power over the Church without any great change in the Church Services, or in the beliefs of the people. But the teaching of Luther and of other reformers, both in England and Germany, made rapid progress, and by the end of Henry's reign Protestantism had become strong in England. Under his son Edward VI its advance was very rapid. The zealous Protestants desired most strongly to remove all traces of the old religion, and Winchester Cathedral and other great churches bear to this day the marks of their zeal. In the corporation records of Southampton is an order from King Edward and his council to the mayor and certain other leading men requiring them to take charge of all church goods, plate, ornaments, and jewels ; to sell the rich vestments and fittings ; and to return to each church just enough to carry on the ordinary services. Similar orders were sent all over England so that the king might obtain that 'masse of Mooney' which, as we are told in 1551, he so badly needed. The orders were well carried out, for it is now very rarely that we find any movable church ornaments or fittings older than the time of Edward VI. Southampton does possess at least two, however. These are the very ancient lecterns—over 400 years old—of St. Michael's and Holyrood.

St. Mary's Church was even worse off than the rest, for it was in a state of ruin. In 1550 'the rubbish of St. Mary's Church' was being used to repair the town roads. For many years after only the chancel could be used, patched up, no doubt, to make of it a kind of chapel. An old writer, speaking perhaps only from hearsay, tells us that 'a fair house is built with the ruins of that fair church wherein the inhabitants (as report goes) cannot

Fig. 36. Old St. Mary's (as re-built in the eighteenth Century)

rest quiet a-nights; the razing down of churches to rear up mansions with that stuff (say they) is not right'. Yet we ought not to look upon the destruction of the old church as the work of Protestantism. It is very likely that St. Mary's was then far away from the populous part of the town and, therefore, little needed. Moreover, a writer who very likely remembered the old church distinctly tells us that the reason for pulling it down was that the fine tall spire was such a splendid mark for French

ships (St. Michael's had no spire then). In any case it is certain that the old church disappeared and with it very much information about old Southampton.

Queen Mary's reign brought the old system back for a time. She even tried to trace and restore the church goods seized by Edward VI, but with little success. A record of the persecution of Protestants in her reign and at other times is to be found in the old copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* still existing in St. Michael's. Copies of this book—a book where truth is mixed with much exaggeration and falsehood—were once to be seen in many English churches.

The Rise of Puritanism. Queen Mary's efforts, as we know, were unavailing. The change went steadily on and forms of worship became more and more Puritan. In Southampton we are able to trace the growth of Puritanism and simpler forms of worship, from the few records that are left. Thus at St. Laurence the cross in front of the church was taken down in 1570, and the screen was removed that separated the chancel from the rest of the church. The new importance of the Bible, now that every man was expected to read it for himself, is shown by the large sum of 26*s.* 8*d.* (£10 or £12 now) paid by St. Laurence for a new Bible. Texts from Scripture were painted around the walls of the church. Sermons, too, were becoming a more prominent part of the Church Service, for in 1606 St. Laurence bought ' a running glass ' for the pulpit ' with a stander to set him in '. Often in those days, we are told, a zealous preacher would hold on his sermon for an hour while the sands ran through, and then, inverting the hour glass, would preach another hour while the sands ran back again. Perhaps this is why the St. Laurence churchwardens, thirty years later, bought a *half*-hour glass ! As might have been expected, these long sermons did not make it a pleasure for the boys of that time to attend church, especially as they were often examined on the sermon afterwards. The boys at St. Laurence must have been troublesome, for the churchwardens in 1595 recorded in their accounts : ' Received of Mr. Malerie, skoulmaster, to paie for spoilles made by

hym and his skollerdes in y^e^ churche, *vid.*' How we should like to know what were the ' spoilles ' these unruly ' skollerdes ' made ! Possibly, however, a school was being held in the church.

We have no records of the other churches, but we may be sure that similar changes took place in those also. Holyrood, for example, still shows the marks left by the ancient screen before its removal, and in St. Michael's portions of the old woodwork of the screen may be seen in other parts of the church.

The sufferings of the Roman Catholics in the time of Elizabeth have left a memorial in Southampton in the name of Banister Court. For Edward Banister to whom the house belonged (though he seldom lived there) was one of those who suffered severely from fines and long imprisonments. On the other hand, the ' French ' church commemorates the sufferings of Protestants abroad, for it represents the ancient chapel of God's House, granted by Queen's College in 1567 to some refugees who were fleeing from Spanish severities in the Netherlands.

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and continuing throughout the time of James I, Charles I, and Cromwell, regular sermons or instructions called ' lectures ' were held in the important parish churches, St. Laurence, Holyrood, and St. Michael's. The ' lecturers ' were special preachers working side by side with the parish clergy, and one of the reasons why the Puritans hated Archbishop Laud so much was because he tried to put an end to the ' lectures '. But when the Puritans gained the ascendancy in the time of Cromwell they extended and strengthened the custom, which, in many ways, was a good one. And so in 1653 it was ordered by the Commonwealth Government that £100 should be paid yearly out of the funds of St. Mary's towards supplying the ' voyde churches and the Thursday's lecture at Rhoode's Church with godly and able ministers '. The ' voyde ' churches were perhaps St. Laurence's and St. Michael's, for about this time we find ' Independent ' ministers (that is ' Congregationalists ' as we should say now) placed in charge of these churches. When Charles II ' came to his own again ' the expulsion

of such ministers from all churches in which they were found gave rise to the setting up of Nonconformist places of worship, and it is of the Nonconformists we must now speak.

The Nonconformists. When the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662 forcing all ministers who would not use the Book of Common Prayer to leave their churches, a minister named Nathaniel Robinson held the living of St. Laurence. Compelled to leave that church, he, like many more expelled ministers, gathered a congregation of his own around him. They met for worship in private houses in spite of the Conventicle Act, which forbade all such meetings under heavy fines. Portsmouth Independents seem to have suffered more than those of Southampton. Still the leaders of the congregation here did suffer, among them Isaac Watts, their deacon. His famous son was born while the father was in prison. When William III came to the throne, the Independents were allowed free exercise of their religion, and accordingly the old Above Bar Chapel was built. Since then other congregations have sprung up and flourished.

The Baptists of the town formed themselves into a body almost or quite as early as the Congregationalists. They had a meeting-house in Blue Anchor Lane more than 200 years ago, but it was not until about a century ago that they became strong and influential.

Along with Congregationalists and Baptists we must not forget to mention the Quakers, as they were called—the Society of Friends. Even in Cromwell's time they were persecuted, for in 1656, one of them, Ambrose Rigg, 'for uttering a Christian exhortation to the people in the place of public worship at Southampton' (that is, for interrupting the service), was sent to prison. Here he was joined by several more. Again in Charles II's time numbers of Quakers around Southampton suffered seizure of their cattle and property because they would not support the county militia, warfare being against their principles.

The Wesleyans of Southampton can trace their history

back to the visits of John Wesley himself. In October, 1767, he came here and, as he says in his 'Journal', 'the wind being so high that I could not well preach abroad, I sent a line to the mayor requesting leave to preach in the Town Hall. In an hour he sent word I might, but in an hour more he retracted. Poor Mayor of Southampton! So I preached in a small room and did not repent my labour.' This room is said to have been in the house of a Mr. Fay, in Castle Lane.

The Eighteenth-Century Church. The work of Wesley and of others like him was rendered the more necessary by the Church's neglect of her duty in the eighteenth century. It is true St. Mary's Church was rebuilt in 1711, but the new building was most unlovely and the rectors (there were only two between 1743 and 1797) seem to have neglected their work. To save rebuilding on a larger scale the other churches erected large and ugly galleries. One in St. Michael's was reserved for charity boys. The large high pews favoured carelessness and irreverence, and yet continued long in use as private property. Thus, the churchwardens of Holyrood on one occasion removed the lock from a certain parishioner's pew and sent it to him with the message that if he again sent his cook-maid to occupy the pew, they would dispose of it to someone else. Again, a visitor just after 1800, speaking of the new church of All Saints, condemns the practice of 'huddling into one mean and incongruous group the clerk's desk, the reading desk, and pulpit, to which the art of man can give neither dignity nor grace.' 'They have,' he says, 'the exact resemblance to the establishment of an auctioneer.' In saying this he was referring to that arrangement of pulpit and desks which was for so long called the 'three-decker', still to be seen in some churches. Minstead in the New Forest has one.

Conclusion. But the nineteenth century saw a very welcome change. Practically all the Nonconformist churches we can now see, and the churches of St. Paul (1828), St. Luke (1853), St. James (1858), St. Laurence (New) (1842), St. Mary (New) (1879), St. Mark (1880 ?), St. Barnabas (1898), Freemantle (1868), St. Peter

(1845), St. Matthew (1870), Holy Trinity (1829), St. Denys (1867), Northam (1854), Shirley (1836), and Highfield (1847), have been built during the last hundred years. We must hope that all this new vigour, closely connected as we have seen with the old Church life of the past, has done and will do much to make the life of Southampton's people better, higher, and nobler than it could possibly have been otherwise.

X

THE SCHOOLS OF SOUTHAMPTON

By C. H. Holmes, B.A.

The fundamental difference between the civilized man and the savage consists in this—the civilized man begins his education where his father left off and finishes at a stage which his father never reached : the savage begins where his father began and finishes where his father finished. Consequently whilst the savage remains in the same state for ages the civilized man constantly advances in knowledge and skill.

The civilized man progresses because he keeps a record of the thoughts and experiences of his ancestors, in other words, because he writes books. By the aid of books each generation is enabled to start in life on a higher plane of knowledge and skill than the generation which preceded it.

All wise persons in authority have at all times instinctively perceived the truth of what has just been stated, and by founding schools have taken steps to ensure that the youth of the ruling classes at least should start in life by acquiring the wisdom of the past from books. This is what we really mean by Education. The true function of schools is to initiate the young into the wisdom of the past—to start them upon the level reached by their fathers only at the end of their lives.

Thus very early in our history we find schools attached to the king's palace for training the nobility in the art of government. Then it was found necessary to have schools attached to cathedrals, collegiate churches, monasteries, and chantries to train young men for the work of the Church. Most of these schools admitted lay pupils as well. Lastly borough schools were established to meet the wants of the merchant and craft guilds.

There seems no reason to doubt that Southampton possessed schools in the Middle Ages similar to those existing in other parts of the country ; especially is it highly probable that a school was attached to the collegiate church of St. Mary. But there is no documentary evidence whatsoever either in the muniments or the town records to show that any such schools existed in pre-reformation times. Perhaps the records, if they existed, were burnt by the French in one of their frequent incursions.

The first school of which we have any record is the Grammar School of King Edward VI, which owes its foundation to William Capon, D.D., the last precentor of St. Mary's, who on July 31, 1550, gave £100 to the town for the erection, foundation, and maintenance of a school. The mayor, the recorder, and four ex-mayors, were to have the order and oversight thereof. They were directed to lend out the money at 10 per cent., and with the interest of £10 a year maintain the school for ever. On June 4, 1553, King Edward VI issued Letters Patent in which he granted permission for the establishment of the school and directed that it should be called the Free Grammar School of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Southampton, for the education of boys and youths for ever, to consist of a master and an usher.

The mayor and bailiffs, for the time being, were constituted a special corporation under the title of Governors of the school. The appointment of master and usher was vested in the general corporation with the Bishop of Winchester as adviser. Robert Knaplocke, Fellow of New College, Oxford, second master of Winchester College, was the first head master.

There is some doubt as to the meaning of the word ' Free ' in the expression Free Grammar School. Some say it means freedom from ecclesiastical control, which seems highly reasonable seeing that the Church for centuries had claimed the sole right of control over education : others maintain that it means freedom from payment of fees. In the case of Southampton Grammar School it is certain that the pupils paid fees from the first,

for in 1561 they were fined at 6*d.* a quarter for town boys and 16*d.* for country boys. In 1674 the fees were greatly increased by the town council, but poor boys nominated by the council were admitted free. In 1775 again the fees were doubled, owing to the decrease in the value of money.

The school hours were from 6 to 11 a.m. in summer and from 7 to 11 in winter; also from 1 to 5 p.m. Boys in

Fig. 37. The Old Grammar School, Bugle Street

Forms V and VI were allowed to speak only in Latin except by special leave. Moreover, in Elizabeth's reign at least, French had to be spoken at meal-times on pain of being forced to wear a dunce's cap. At Whitsuntide an examination took place, conducted by members of the corporation and by the clergy of the town.

Within a few years of its foundation, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, the school had gained a great reputation and numbered among its pupils many who afterwards

became distinguished men. This was due mainly to the efforts of Adrian à Saravia, a Protestant refugee, who had been driven from the Netherlands by Spanish persecution. He was a member of that first little congregation of foreign Protestants to whom Elizabeth granted the use of God's House Chapel. Having entered the English Church he was appointed head master of the Grammar School, where he had among his pupils Joshua Sylvester, the poet, Thomas Lake, afterwards Secretary to James I, Nicholas Fuller, the great Hebrew scholar, and other distinguished pupils. The cause of education in Southampton owed much to the untiring efforts of her adopted son Adrian à Saravia, and his name ought to be much better known than it is, we fear, at present.

The school was originally situated in Winkle Street, then removed in 1695 to West Hall in Bugle Street, where, under Richard Mant (1770–95) it gained great renown.

The Municipal Reform Act removed the government from the corporation to a body of Municipal Charity Trustees, between whom and the corporation a dispute arose about the endowments. The disputants appealed to the law and the case went into Chancery. As a result the school was closed for six years (1854–60). A compromise was eventually effected by which the corporation kept the disputed endowments and agreed to pay the school £150 a year in settlement of its obligations.

In 1860 the school was re-opened in a new schoolroom on the same site under Mr. C. W. Hankin, B.A. In 1867 it ceased to send boys to the universities, its curriculum was modernized, and it became a secondary school of the modern popular type. In 1875, under the Endowed Schools Act, the old body of trustees was dissolved and the present mixed elective and co-optative body of governors appointed.

In 1880 the present head master was appointed when the number of boys on the roll was only forty-nine. In 1896 the school outgrew the capacity of the old premises in Bugle Street and removed to the new buildings in the West Marlands, to which this year (1909) a new wing has been added.

The Grammar School, like all the old foundations prior to the time of the Commonwealth, was a truly democratic institution, founded in the interests of learning alone and open to all classes alike. After the triumph of Puritanism in Cromwell's time schools of this type ceased to be created. Future foundations were devised with the somewhat different object of benefiting some particular class or religious sect.

One of these class schools was founded by Alderman Richard Taunton, who in his will, dated Feb. 15, 1752, left the residue of his estate for the foundation of a school whose object was to train lads for a seafaring life. By the scheme of 1760, when the funds were released from Chancery, boys not exceeding twenty in number, nominated by the trustees, were to be taught navigation and then put out either as apprentices to masters of merchant vessels or to be officers in the Royal Navy. Each boy was to be provided with a uniform of green serge, and both the boys and the master had to attend morning and evening service at Holyrood Church, where a pew was provided for them by the trustees. In 1872 attendance at church was no longer compulsory. In 1875 the uniform was abolished.

There seems to be no record of the location of the school till 1851, when it was held at No. 65 High Street, in the house of Mr. Hartley. In 1857 it moved to Windsor Terrace into a room over a paint-store. In 1859 it again moved, this time to Liverpool Street into a room attached to the Bank Inn. The first part of the present buildings in New Road was opened in 1865. To this additions were made in 1878, 1892, and 1899.

Taunton's School, like many other schools of a similar nature, has singularly failed to carry out the wishes of the founder. From the very first boys after being educated refused to go to sea. When they were allowed to substitute a seafaring trade such as shipbuilding, they still refused to be apprenticed. The same thing occurred when they were allowed the choice of any trade, so finally all stipulations were abandoned by the trustees. The school is now conducted as a secondary school of the ordinary

type with low fees. The school has made great progress in recent years.

The most important educational institution in the town is the Hartley University College. This was founded by Mr. Henry Robinson Hartley, who died at Calais on May 24, 1850. By his will drawn up in 1843, he left £103,887 to the corporation for the founding of an institution for the study of natural history, astronomy, antiquities, and classical and oriental learning. After the usual Chancery suit a sum of £42,525 was left available for carrying out the wishes of the founder.

The present building on the site of the founder's house was opened on Oct. 15, 1862, and for many years it combined the functions of a museum, a public library, and a mechanics' institute. In 1902, a new demand for higher education having arisen, the institution was incorporated as a University College for the Isle of Wight, Dorset, Wiltshire, Hants, Portsmouth, Bournemouth, and Southampton, to qualify students for degrees in any university of the United Kingdom. The Duke of Wellington became the first president: he was assisted by a court of governors and a widely representative council.

Till the establishment of School Boards by the Education Act of 1870, elementary education was the work of voluntary effort. The society for the Promotion of Religious Knowledge, for instance, founded in 1698, did some educational work of an elementary character, but the first really national work was the establishment of Sunday Schools by Robert Raikes at Gloucester, in 1780. The movement rapidly spread throughout England and reached Southampton in 1786. In that year were established the first Sunday Schools, towards the expense of which the corporation gave a yearly subscription of five guineas.

In 1791 Dr. Andrew Bell, a clergyman in India, hit upon the expedient of making children teach one another, and a school on this principle was established in England in 1798, but the method excited little attention till it was taken up in a modified form by Joseph Lancaster. His successful management of a school on the site of the

Fig. 38. Alderman Taunton
(*From a block lent by S. J. Gubb, Esq., B.A.*)

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present Borough Road Training College aroused great enthusiasm for the system—the monitorial—which seemed the solution of the problem of the education of the poor. So when Lancaster himself became involved in pecuniary difficulties, a committee of gentlemen, chiefly Nonconformists, formed themselves into the Royal Lancasterian Institution for the purpose of carrying on his work. Dr. Bell and the Church party then formed the Metropolitan Society for a similar purpose. In 1811 the latter became the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England, and in 1814 the Lancasterian Institution became the British and Foreign School Society. In the 'British' Schools the Bible was read without note or comment, whilst in the 'National' schools distinctive religious teaching in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England was given.

'British' schools were established in the Ditches in 1810 and enlarged in 1817. A 'National' school was opened in St. Michael's Square on the present site in 1811 : the school was enlarged in 1853.

In 1835 the Bedford Place Schools for the parish of All Saints were built by subscription : they afterwards became St. Paul's Schools.

In 1839 schools were established for Holy Trinity parish. The present buildings were put up in 1853 and enlarged in 1867. In 1840 the first National school for St. Mary's parish was erected in Grove Street. This was followed in 1845 by Grove Street Infant School, by the Deanery Infant School in 1852, and by Crabniton in 1858. St. Luke's Schools were built in 1847 and enlarged in 1859. Other schools were Christchurch, Portswood, founded 1848 and enlarged 1858 ; St. Peter's, 1856 ; Christchurch, Northam, 1858 ; Holyrood, 1861 ; the P. and O. Schools in Ransome's Terrace, now Eastern District School, 1862 ; St. Joseph's Roman Catholic, 1859. The first School Board for Southampton was elected in 1871.

Two of the earliest Board Schools are those now known as Southern District School and York Buildings School. Since the time of their erection many other large and

well-equipped schools have been set up in other parts of the town. Thus, when the School Board was abolished in 1902, the Education Committee which took over its duties found the town well supplied with schools. Then began the work which is still going on, the work of making it possible for every clever boy or girl in Southampton to secure in Elementary School, Secondary School, and University College, the very best education that the town can give. Remembering that our town *has* been famous for education in the distant past let us hope that it will be still more famous in the not distant future.

XI

GREAT MEN AND WOMEN OF SOUTHAMPTON

By Constance Fox

Old towns are haunted, those of their inhabitants who at one time or another filled their stage seem still to retain their power. Ages after their places know them no more they are yet with us, in the abiding dwelling-places their deeds have wrought.

In Norman and Plantagenet times, the great people of cities like Southampton were very great people indeed --very great, that is to say, to every one in their little world. Their comings and goings were of general interest ; their needs largely influenced the industries of their district ; on them the curious people who speculated about the outside world depended for news of its doings ; with their fortunes, in a word, the fortunes of their district were bound up. You may sit beside one of Southampton's most prominent citizens in a tramcar to-day, and be quite unconscious of the honour. But you could never have passed by such a great man as Gervase le Rich was, in the days of Richard of the Lion Heart and John, without knowing who he was. You would have heard all about him. You would have watched his ships bringing noble or royal persons to our shores, or carrying them away to France ; you would have heard of the large payments made to him for these services by the town ; you would probably have felt pride in his wealth when you heard that King John had borrowed money from him. If you wanted anything from him you would have had to make your way to Bugle Street to wait your turn amongst a crowd of petitioners in an anteroom of his fine house, West Hall. Chaucer must have had some one like

le Rich in his mind when he wrote of his pilgrim frankeleyne :

> ' His table dormant in his house alway
> Stood ready covered al the longe day.
> At Sessiouns ther was he lord and sire
> Full ofte tyme he was Knight of the schire.
> A schirreve had he ben and a contour
> Was nowher such a worthy vavasour.'

The great people of our day seem small beside him ; our indebtedness to them intangible by the side of Southampton's to him. And he left Southampton his debtor. He founded the hospital of St. Julian, better known as ' God's House ', and enriched it by many gifts : a stone house, a rent on West Hall, land in the neighbourhood of Portswood and Padwell, land in the Isle of Wight, and many other favours. Gifts to the Church and to the poor ensured remembrance in those times.

Benedict, son of Azon, who was three times mayor, was nearly as liberal a benefactor to the Priory of St. Denys. But later, during the gloom of the last days of Edward III and the troubled times of Richard II, clouds were gathering over the Church, and enemies were watching England's gates. Hence, such a man as John Polymond, nine times mayor, and six times burgess of Parliament, by whose name St. Denys tower was long called, owed nothing of his greatness to gifts to the Church. He earned the gratitude of his fellow townsmen by his share in their defence against the troublesome French, when in 1371, with Hugo d'Estote, he organized against the enemy a force of all the men in the town and its suburbs who were fit to bear arms.

A visitor to Southampton in Henry VIII's reign tells us of her ' many fair marchauntes' houses ', and singles out, as the most imposing, ' that of Huttoft, late custumer of Hampton, builded on the west side of the town.' Huttoft was very influential : we read of his petitioning Thomas Cromwell for leniency to one Friar Gilbert Pecock, against whom a warrant was issued ; of his conferring the privileges of a burgess of Southampton upon the merchant

Anthony Guidotti—this last a mayoral privilege rarely exercised. Huttoft was twice mayor, and once sheriff; and his 'fair house', standing in full view of West Gate and Arundel Towers, was probably visited by Queen Katherine of Aragon, when, during his first mayoralty, he welcomed her to the town.

The Fleming shield, on the Bargate, commemorates a family that served Southampton well for centuries, from early Tudor to Hanoverian times. South of East Street, between the Town Ditches and Orchard Lane, there used to be three gardens, and one of these belonged, in the latter days of Henry VII, to a notable John Fleming. Southampton had good cause to think kindly of John Fleming, for, on June 1, 1515, he gave over to his fellow townsmen a waterhead in Lobbery Meadow, and the water-course joining it to the corporation water-house in Goswell Lane. In August of the same year, at his own cost, he put a tap into the main pipe of the conduit at the south-west corner of All Hallows Church. This John Fleming was a burgess of Parliament; but, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, a Thomas Fleming became Solicitor General, received knighthood, and married a Cromwell, the aunt of the Protector. He continued to serve Southampton as Recorder till the end of the reign, and, under James I became Chief Justice of King's Bench. The shield on the Bargate commemorates his great-great-great-grandson, Richard Fleming, who represented Southampton in Parliament during the last years of Anne's reign and the early years of George I.

In Grove Street, between the first and second of the almshouses, is to be seen an interesting stone bearing the shield of the town, and the initials of Richard Butler, the founder of the original almshouses, which were destroyed by fire in 1865. The site of these was given to the town by a member of another public-spirited family, the Lysters. In the reign of Henry VIII, Southampton's prosperity had begun to decline; and we find her mayor, Thomas Lyster, borrowing money to pay to the crown the Fee Farm Rent, lest delayed payment should endanger her liberties. The Lysters seem to have favoured the old religion. When

Hancock, a visiting preacher of the reformed faith, appeared in Southampton and demanded to be allowed to preach in St. Michael's Church, Sir Richard Lyster, Lord Chief Justice in 1547, answered that there was one in the Tower whom he would believe before four hundred Hancocks. He referred to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. The preacher who supplied Hancock's place publicly denounced Sir Richard for allowing altars to be raised in his house for Catholic rites, though these were not at that time illegal. Many years later, when his widow put up to him the monument which is now to be seen at the west end of the north aisle in St. Michael's Church, she must have rejoiced that he was spared the tragedy of Mary's reign.

About this time Southampton gave her name to an earldom. The title was first borne by William Fitzwilliam, an early friend of Henry VIII, and was well earned by its bearer, for in the field he had given valuable help in skirmishes with the French, and as a diplomatist in foreign courts, he had negotiated alliances for the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. Advancement was rapid; fortunes rose and fell quickly in those days. In the year when Sir Thomas More was beheaded, Fitzwilliam became Lord High Admiral, in the following year Earl of Southampton. Five years later he died, when leading an expedition into Scotland. He left no children to inherit the honours he had spent his last efforts in deserving, and the title was extinct till it was given, in the early years of Edward VI, to Thomas Wriothesley, a typical Tudor placehunter, whose agility in keeping on the winning side ensured his rise in those times of quick change. A persecutor of the reforming party, he yet profited considerably by the dissolution of the monasteries,—Quarr Abbey, Beaulieu Abbey, and Hyde Abbey, amongst others, falling to his share. His services to Henry VIII were rewarded by the Garter and the office of Lord Chancellor. Other rewards followed, after Henry's death: the title of Earl of Southampton came to him with the accession of Edward VI, of whom he was left joint governor, as well as one of the executors of his father's will. But under Edward VI his

FIG. 39. HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON
(PATRON AND FRIEND OF SHAKESPEARE)

power waned ; and deprivation of his office followed an accusation of illegal acts done under the power of the Great Seal. To his grandson, the third Henry Wriothesley, fell lasting fame. For to him, it is now believed, were addressed the sonnets of Shakespeare. He was the friend whose absence, even in spring

'Brought old December's bareness everywhere.'

Writers of his day have praised the beauty of his person and the charm of his nature ; painters have shown how well warranted were Shakespeare's praises of his 'fair aspect'. In later life his impetuous character raised for him political difficulties, which turned his thoughts to the colonization of an England beyond the Atlantic, and in Virginia his title is perpetuated in Hampton Roads, Hampton River, and Southampton Hundreds, which he named—we would fain believe—after the spot of all earth dearest to him. His son, another Thomas Wriothesley, was the faithful friend of Charles I, and was allowed to watch by the dead king, and follow him to the grave. He survived the Protectorate, and rejoiced at the Restoration. But his loyalty to the House of Stuart did not survive, and he was one of the many who regretted the absolute power which a repentant England had given to Charles's son.

A very good example of the changing fortunes of a nobleman of Tudor or Stuart times is supplied in the story of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of Somerset, the Protector. He was brought up with Edward VI, was deprived of his title and estates when his father was disgraced, and had recovered them all by the end of the reign of Mary. In Hampshire he owned large estates, and in 1560 entertained Queen Elizabeth at Netley. But a few months later his rash marriage with Lady Catherine Grey had incurred the queen's anger, and procured for him and his wife imprisonment in the Tower. The death of the latter released him from prison, but left his loyalty permanently under grave suspicion. To his recommendation Southampton Grammar School owes one of its finest teachers, Alexander Rosse, afterwards royal chaplain.

Another chequered career of that time was that of Sir Thomas Lake, once a scholar in the Grammar School. Lake's dexterity and despatch as Walsingham's secretary gained him the name of 'Swiftsure', and Elizabeth's favour; his announcement of her death to her successor secured the favour of James VI, under whom, though, according to Gardiner, his qualifications were only those of a diligent and ready official, he became Latin Secretary, and finally Secretary of State. Disgrace, imprisonment, and the inevitable fine ended his public career. Very different was the progress of his brother, Bishop Arthur Lake, also educated at the Grammar School. His advance was as rapid as that of his brother, but based not on alert interest and unceasing importunity, but upon real merit—deep learning, fervent piety, and a tender mindfulness of all committed to his care—which makes his biography very pleasant reading: 'To his city he was an oracle, to scholars a living library, to the whole Church a priest whose lips did preserve knowledge.'

While Southampton's citizens were, as a whole, loyal to the Stuarts, many of her prominent families were bound to Cromwell by political sympathies, and, in the case not only of the Flemings, but also of the Majors, by kinship. From John Major Southampton inherited £200, to be spent on a house of twelve rooms, for poor people, who were to be maintained by labour there or elsewhere. The hospital of St. John was built in French Street, on land purchased by Major's bequest. Richard Major, who largely controlled religious and municipal administration, was not only the friend but the father-in-law of Richard Cromwell, who with Dorothy, his wife, stayed on their wedding journey to eat the small black cherries—'merries'—grown in an orchard in Chandler's Ford. But though Dorothy Cromwell was always handsomely entertained by the town on her visits here, royalist sympathies were known to be strong; and either they or Southampton's position with regard to France decided Parliament to appoint a governor here from the beginning of the Civil War. A very notable governor was Peter Murford, the 'infamous Brownistical governor', mentioned in chap. ix,

part I, who turned Bugle Hall into a prison, and at one time confined the mayor himself within its walls. In the same year the structural defences of the town were entrusted to him, and again in 1650. He is described as a coarse soldier ; but he seems to have been quite equal to the many demands made upon him during those exacting days of office. The town gave him a voice in the appointment of the Thursday lecturer at Holyrood Church, in the distribution of church funds, and in the treatment to be meted out to the perplexing Mr. Nathaniel Robinson, at one time Cromwell's chaplain, who insisted on preaching, though refusing ordination. In 1650 we find Murford receiving and entertaining the Lady Elizabeth and Prince Henry in Southampton, then escorting them to Carisbrooke, ' to be kept close ' till further arrangements were made. In 1652 he discharged the duties of a Justice of the Peace. And he began life as a tailor !

Nathaniel Robinson, after his ' intrusions ' into and ejections from St. Laurence's and All Saints', began his life work in Southampton's first Congregational Chapel, which stood where the present Above Bar Chapel now stands. The beginnings of the mission were helped by the gift of £200 by Robert Horner, one of its first elders, a London merchant, settled in Southampton. One of the trustees of Horner's will was the father of the famous Dr. Watts. Dr. Watts's grandfather had commanded a man-of-war under Blake ; his father, whose religious opinions brought him much persecution, was a clothier of French Street ; his mother—surely a woman of notable gifts, since she was able to manage a boarding-house as well as to bring up a family of nine—was the daughter of Alderman Taunton, and of Huguenot descent. At the time of Dr. Watts's birth his father was suffering imprisonment for his religion. By the time Watts went to school he was well advanced in study—he began Latin and Greek at home at the age of five ! Light is thrown on his relations with his teachers by his inscription to his head master of a Latin Pindaric ode ; Dr. Johnson's commendation of the ode honours alike school and teacher and pupil. The religious sensibilities to be expected from

FIG. 40. ISAAC WATTS
(*By permission of the Religious Tract Society*)

the son of Watts's parents, and the sympathy with children which inspired so much of his life's work were both wounded by the hymns then sung in the Above Bar Chapel, and Watts was impelled to write more suitable ones. In that chapel was first sung his 'Behold the glories of the Lamb!' and for it many of the others were written. Watts's fame as a writer rests mostly on his hymns, of which twelve are still in very general use. He was one of the most popular literary men of his time, writing on education, divinity, and philosophy. His *Horae Lyricae* gave him a place in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. His tenderness for the weak and poor, his zeal for the conversion of sinners—he would rather, he said, have written Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* than Milton's *Paradise Lost*—so informed all his writings that Johnson says of them, 'It is difficult to read a page of them without learning or at least wishing to be better.' Watts's monument is seen in Westminster Abbey; his portrait is seen in the Above Bar Chapel; the Watts Memorial Hall is named after him. But his best memorial is the verses for little children, some of which may be read on the base of his statue in Southampton Park. The famous Bishop Burnet of Salisbury, the author of *A History of the Reformation* and *A History of Our Own Times*, married a lady who was born near Southampton, and who wrote a *Method of Devotion*, which became very popular. Like Dr. Watts, she remembered the religious needs of little children. But she was less able to meet them: her prayer for children, written in prose, and to be said twice a day, was thirty-five lines long!

In Holyrood Church are buried three Dr. John Speeds of successive generations, all of whom seem to have devoted their leisure to literary work, mostly inspired by the aspect and fortunes of their town and townsmen. The first celebrated the 'Parts, Patience and Pains of Bartholomew Kempster, Clerk, Poet, and Cutler of Holyrood Parish, 1680,' in a poem, *Batt upon Batt*, which, sixty years later, had reached its seventh edition. The third, by many municipal services, earned the gratitude of his contemporaries, and, by his compilation of the first *History of*

Southampton, that of all succeeding Southamptonians. In Tudor times the arrival of many Protestant refugees in Southampton had, for a time, revived her prosperity. But a period of gloom followed, and long after the Great Plague of 1665 grass grew in her streets. The impression made upon the third Dr. John Speed—and through him upon the men of his day—by Southampton's beauties and fortunes is illustrated in the following lines :

> ' Hampton, in the days of yore
> The lawful pride of all the Southern shore,
> With all advantages of Nature graced,
> Betwixt the arms of fair Antona placed,
> Guarded by forest both on land and sea
> From storms and man, the ruder enemy.'

More courtly and picturesque, if not more dignified, figures than those of the Speeds or Watts or Major or Murford, trod the stage at this time. Adam de Cardonnel, the son of a French Protestant, settled in Southampton, rose to be the friend and private secretary of the great Duke of Marlborough when at the height of his power. His protector vainly sought for him the post of War Secretary in 1710. In 1711 a charge of receiving bribes from army contractors—readily believed of Marlborough's protégé—was brought against him, and his ten years' representation of Southampton in Parliament was ended by his expulsion from the House. A longer and more brilliant career ended at Bevois Mount in Southampton, an estate described by Pope as ' beautiful beyond description ', where Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, soldier, statesman, ambassador, and the friend and counsellor of William III, spent his last days. There his charming personality, no less than his generous patronage, drew to him the most famous men of his day, with whom he lived on terms of affectionate intimacy—Swift calls him ' the ramblingest lying rogue on earth '. There, too, frequently came his nephew, Sir John Mordaunt, probably bringing over with him, from his house at Freefolk, near Whitchurch, his warm admirer, Wolfe. Mordaunt rose to be a general in

1770, though Pitt was disappointed with the result of his expedition to Rochefort.

Bevois Mount was the ' Holland House ' of Southampton, the temporary abode of great and famous people. It is next associated with the well-known name of William Sotheby, and the notable friendships of this cultivated man, whose admiration for genius and power of gathering round him the great men of his time, rather than his own literary achievements, will save his name from oblivion. While responding to every appeal of civic life, Sotheby found leisure to gather round him at Bevois Mount and bind to him by ties of friendship, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Rogers, Mrs. Siddons, Joanna Baillie, Maria Edgeworth, Thomas More, and Southey. To Sotheby's *Tribute of Friendship* to Sir Henry Englefield, lovers of Southampton will cordially subscribe, recognizing the value to the city of Englefield's *Walks through Southampton*, in which the results of his study of her past history are set forth with invaluable detail.

Visitors to the city, especially Americans, bear abundant testimony to its ghosts ; they declare that they throng the Tudor House and Bevois Mount and Bugle Street and the Walls. But the Bargate is deserted, the Americans say ; deserted ever since the statue of George III was set up under the Sun-dial. They assert that no self-respecting ghost—and all ours are personages of great dignity—would be seen in the neighbourhood of George III, in spite of his Roman disguise. The second Marquis of Lansdowne, whose presentation of the statue to the city banished the Bargate ghosts, was a liberal patron of art and literature, and the friend of Bentham, Franklin, Johnson, Garrick, Mirabeau, and Romilly. Disraeli describes him as ' one of the suppressed characters in English history ', and ' the first minister to understand the rising importance of the middle class '. When the marquis lived on Pear Tree Green, he bought Castle Hill, and built on the site of the old Norman keep, retaining a remnant of it, a brick and stucco mansion, which was something of an eyesore to the friends of Jane Austen, who could see it from the window of her house in Castle Square. Jane

Austen's house had ' a pleasant garden, bounded on one side by the city wall ; the top of this wall was sufficiently wide to afford a pleasant walk, easily accessible to ladies by steps '. The Austens' circumstances necessitated a quiet life. But even with straitened circumstances, the pleasant town made many simple pleasures possible ; a water party upon the Itchen, starting from Itchen Ferry, and arranged for the entertainment of two little nephews recently bereaved of their mother ; a ball at the Assembly Rooms, then near the West Quay, are described in Jane Austen's letters, some of the most charming of which are written from here. It is pleasant to read there of the cordiality of the welcome to the Austens by the town, and of the regrets called forth by their departure.

At the time when England was making herself mistress of the seas, sea-songs, from the pen of a writer born not far from Southampton Water, were ever on the lips of Englishmen. In the Register of Holyrood Church we find the name of Charles Dibdin, who was born in the year when the young Pretender vainly crossed the border. The ' Tom Bowling ', whose melodious story has moved so many hearts, was his brother. Dibdin's musical gift manifested itself early. It blossomed during his training as a chorister at Winchester, and during his work as organist in London, where he went at the age of sixteen. At nineteen he had an operetta accepted and produced at Covent Garden. From this time operas and musical sketches exclusively occupied him. But he owes his fame to the songs, especially his ninety sea-songs, scattered about in his longer pieces. In his volume of *Recollections* he tells us : ' My songs have been the solace of sailors in long voyages, in storms, and in battles ; they have been quoted in mutinies, to the restoration of order and discipline.' He composed rapidly, music and words coming together, and his best songs came quickest—the ' Sailor's Journal ' in half an hour. He often took a part in his own operas, and was the only actor in his musical sketches. O'Keefe, a brother dramatist and song-writer, who befriended Dibdin in his early struggles in London, writes of his sketches : ' He ran on sprightly and with nearly

a laughing face, like a friend who enters hastily to impart to you some good news. A few lines of speaking happily introduced his admirable songs, full of wit and character, and his peculiar mode of singing them surpassed all I had ever heard of.' O'Keefe's last years were spent in his old friend's native place: he died at Bedford Cottage in Bedford Row. 'Ah! the top and the bottom of the ladder! He might have shoved me a few sticks higher,' he laughingly protested, when his daughter, reading aloud to him Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, came to the phrase 'From Shakespeare to O'Keefe.' A future Poet-Laureate, whom Scott calls 'the poetical Pye', and to whom Southey awards the palm for 'rhyming doggedly and dully', was born in Southampton, in the same year as Dibdin. Pye's connexion with the town ended early; his estimate of the wisdom of the Southamptonians of his day—as illustrated in the following lines—probably made the severance not intolerable to them:

'Southampton's wise sons found their river so large
Though 'twould carry a ship, 'twould not carry a barge.
But soon this defect their sage noddles supplied,
For they cut a snug ditch, to run close by its side;
Like the man who contriving a hole through a wall
To admit his two cats, the one great, t'other small,
When a great hole was made, for great puss to go through,
Had a little hole cut, for his little cat too.'

It is to be expected that this town, which, according to Miss Mitford, combines 'all that is enchanting in wood, land, and water', should be associated with the names of renowned landscape painters. Frederic Lee Bridell was born in Southampton. When we recall the dancing waves of Southampton Water, the marvellous floor of crimsons and gold to which we have so often seen it transformed by the glow of the setting sun, the splendours of our dawn and sunset skies, we shall not wonder that Bridell's seas and skies are ranked second only to Turner's. His career was as brief and bright as those aspects of nature which his genius immortalized. His early success gave him the

means of seeing the great masterpieces of the world's art, gave him, too, the appreciation he craved at an age when genius is often half strangled by the effort for recognition. But early privations, and a too earnest devotion to his art, made him a victim to consumption at the early age of thirty.

We take leave of the shades now to glance at a career still happily growing in brilliance. Sir Hubert Von Herkomer, who is proud to acknowledge his indebtedness for artistic inspiration to our beautiful town, was brought here by his parents at the age of three ; and his earliest memories are those of the little house, near where Queen's Buildings now stand, and of the green in front where he must have often played. ' This boy shall be a painter and my best friend,' declared his father, when he was born ; and to the mutual love and sympathy which lightened the burden of poverty in his early home, and bound parents and child together, Herkomer's genius owes much. Too delicate for school, the boy was the companion and helper of his father at the carpenter's bench—he must have been in great request as a playfellow, for his father had taught him how to carve all kinds of little wooden figures, and to make all kinds of toys—and the pupil and helper also of his mother, with whom, later, he shared the giving of music lessons, by which both contributed to the support of the little household. On fine days he was sent to the Common, to drink in all its sunshiny loveliness, and to steep his soul in Nature's wonders. In the evening he had to recall all the sights and sounds that had delighted him, to paint pictures in words for his father and mother. He was sent to the local School of Art at fourteen ; then he went to Munich, where a fortunate order had called his father ; then he studied at South Kensington for three years. But Southampton was still his home, and his holidays there were frequent—one was spent in camp at Hythe. At twenty-two his success was certain. With such gifts and such a bringing-up, success would probably have come to him anywhere. But we who have lived in Southampton, in snow and storm, as well as sunshine, and seen her ever-changing, but never-lessening loveli-

ness, like to believe that his success came to him earlier and in fuller measure through his life in our town.

Time fails me to tell of the many others whose connexion with Southampton has been of a slenderer kind; but in closing I must just mention that here Sir John Millais was born, and that hither the great General Gordon frequently came in such intervals of leisure as his busy life allowed.

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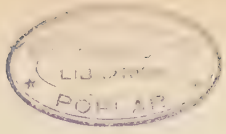

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